PATRIOTISM AND THE NEW INTERNATIONALISM

BY

LUCIA AMES MEAD

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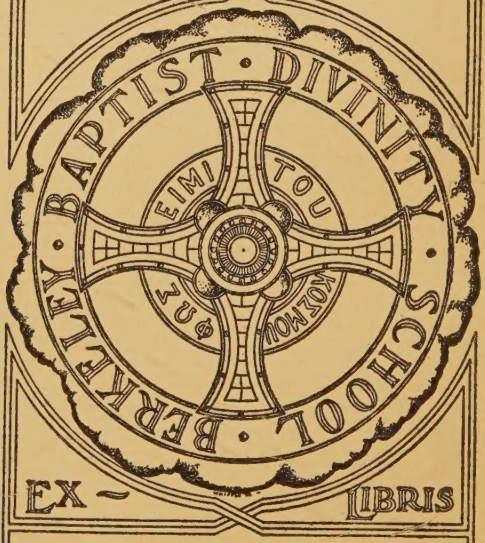

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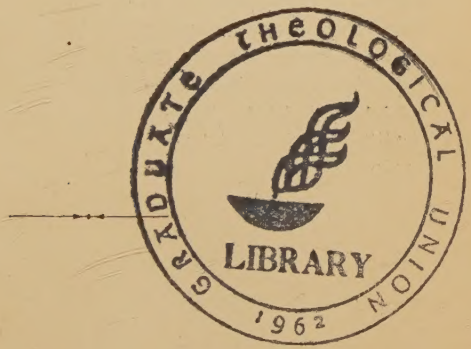

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Following the lead of Massachusetts and Ohio in 1905, the school authorities of every state will be requested in 1906 and every year thereafter to recommend the proper celebration in the schools of May 18, the anniversary of the opening of the Hague Conference in 1899.

To aid the teachers to prepare for the commemoration of this epoch-making event, and to remind them of the principles involved in patriotism and internationalism, the following pages have been prepared. They are not designed for any special grade or class; but it is hoped that they may prove suggestive to teachers in both primary and grammar grades and in high school classes, and that selections may be made from the material for programs which would be suited to grammar schools and high schools.

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"We hesitate to employ a word so much abused as *patriotism*, whose true sense is almost the reverse of the popular sense. We have no sympathy with that boyish egotism, hoarse with cheering for one side, for one state, for one town; the right patriotism consists in the delight which springs from contributing our peculiar and legitimate advantages to the benefit of humanity."

Emerson.

"Upon the success of our experiment much depends, not only as regards our own welfare, but as regards the welfare of mankind. If we fail, the cause of free government throughout the world will rock to its foundations, and therefore our responsibility is heavy to ourselves, to the world as it is to-day, and to the generations yet unborn." — *Theodore Roosevelt.*

INTRODUCTION

The first question which the modern educator who loves his country asks is: What does America most need to-day? No one can answer this whose study of past history has not been guided by a sound philosophy or who lacks insight to interpret the kaleidoscopic changes in the marvelous, romantic vision of the world which is daily unrolled before him in the history that is now in the making.

This is a would-be practical age, demanding sharp differentiation between necessities and superfluities. The educator who would best utilize the few precious years which are all that nine-tenths of our people can give to education must, like the physician, be able to diagnose his case and put his finger first where the chief weakness lies.

Ever since primitive man chipped flints and used a few articulate sounds as symbols of an idea, man's progress has followed two parallel lines — one, the mastery over nature, the other, mastery over himself and his fellows. While he was inventing arrows and boats and learning to make fire and wheels, on one hand, he was developing, on the other, language, religion, art and government. Side by side, keeping pace with each other, these parallel lines proceeded, bringing on the first line in the same century the use of gunpowder and the opening of the New World, while the second line was simultaneously

proportionately advanced when "Gutenberg made thought cosmopolite." Not until about the time of our Declaration of Independence, when the Industrial Revolution began to harness the elemental forces and multiply production beyond the wildest dreams of former generations did these two lines of progress show signs of parting company. To-day the mastery of the material world, the triumphs over time and space which have practically shrunk the planet to a tithe of its former size, the enormous improvement in communication, in sanitation, the incredible gain in comfort, luxury and wealth have advanced man's power along the first line of endeavor so far beyond the other that it bids us pause.

The age of homespun in America was an age of genius in the realms of statesmanship. America marked out untrodden paths and guided the Old World nations in the line which all, more or less rapidly, have followed since. But for a generation no great new genius in statesmanship has appeared; the poets, statesmen and men of vision are replaced in the admiration of the great body of our youth by financiers, inventors and millionaires. The present generation knows not the inspiration of living in a world in which one might be surprised any morning by reading a fresh poem from the pen of Tennyson, Browning, Lowell, Longfellow or Whittier, or an essay from Emerson, Carlyle or Ruskin, or the report of an address by Gladstone, Sumner, Agassiz or Darwin. Our surprises to-day are of another sort.

We who incited the world to try democracy have not only not yet mastered the lesson we would teach, but in some quarters have seemed to do discredit to it. Not only have the Old World cities, hampered by the past, outstripped our new ones in providing comfort, cleanli-

ness and order for their citizens, but in postal, express and telegraph relations we have to learn from them. The higher lessons of government, also, whether in nation, state or city, have in recent years had few contributions from our country, while inventiveness in everything that pertains to material progress and the accumulation of private wealth has been phenomenal. The great advances in penal and charitable measures which have marked the progress of the Nineteenth Century, the toleration and education which have in a measure metamorphosed our attitude toward our fellowmen, great and noble as their advances have been, are nevertheless incommensurate with the astounding progress which in material matters looms so large that to many it has obscured our failures and left us complacent. What failures have been recognized have too often been laid on the shoulders of the immigrant. But of late we have been sharply awakened to the fact that the blame for our defects — our lynchings, our excess of homicides, our land frauds and civic and corporate corruption — cannot be chiefly nor largely laid upon the foreigner. The worst ballot-box stuffing and the largest death-roll of victims of civic misrule have been in the city which has the largest American population. The state that has been debauched from one end to the other by one man who seeks to buy his way into the Senate is a state where the proportion of immigrants is very small.

It has been surprisingly evident that the terms "educated man," "good man," are not synonymous with "good citizen." The indulgent father, the faithful husband, the man who has no private vices has often proved to be the poorest citizen. Indifference, apathy, ingratitude for benefits received and lack of willingness to sacri-

fice personal interests for the country, in the very spot where and at the very time when she most sorely needs it, mark the spirit of prosperous classes in numerous communities. In many city wards almost the entire body of youth is being sent forth from the common school who, although well instructed in the rule of three, in participial adjectives and the number of bones in the body, will in a few years be preparing for the suffrage by allying themselves with a party machine for purely personal ends, with frank admiration of the boss who amasses a fortune by peddling patronage.

The training in "civics" which they may have had at school has frequently taught them but the technicalities of the "business" of politics. Mr. Henry W. Thurston, in 1898, in "An Inquiry Relating to the Training for Citizenship in the Public Schools," which included a wide survey, remarks that "comparatively little conscious connection between school life and the community life as a whole was revealed." This is doubtless less true now than when he wrote; but as an illustration of the uselessness of much of the teaching of civics to-day the following is cited from a careful investigation of the teaching of civics in many social settlements and clubs in 1905. "It seems to be regarded everywhere as one of the serious, not to say dull subjects, which is to be undertaken only by those who have a somewhat abnormal appetite for knowledge. The impression seems prevalent that the subject is much better taught in the Tammany clubs. It was surprising to see that most of the people in authority seemed to fancy that civics consisted in instructing pupils in the difference between the function of the nation, state and city officers, and in teaching immigrants and young children to salute the flag."

Of all this teachers are frequently conscious. Some interesting experiments have recently been made in preparation for civic duties by throwing the discipline of schools largely on the pupils themselves, by establishing health departments, park departments that look after the school-yard, etc. This is most hopeful. But as yet the busy grade teacher, with her fifty youngsters to be inducted into endless technicalities of spelling, grammar, etc., finds little time to consider what responsibility she may have in preparing them for civic duties.

Thanks to Governor Folk, Mr. Steffens, District Attorney Jerome, Mayor Tom Johnson and thousands of newly aroused and encouraged citizens, emancipation from the intolerable domination of rings and bosses has begun; and recent splendid victories give great hope. But thus far the moral laxity, "the wide thaw and ooze of wrong," into which we have slipped in our unbounded ambition for material growth, has only begun to disappear. Little room is there for contentment. Must not a new generation be developed whose education has been guided by teachers who have studied the dangers peculiar to our age and have had the courage to do the one thing needful, before that side of human progress which for a century has lagged behind is brought up even with the other? When not only in the house of mirth, but in every corner of the world of politics and business, success is so often measured by money, and safety by great armaments, when sport and athletics absorb ten times the attention that they did a generation ago, and loyalty to party is by so many esteemed the highest loyalty, is not any scheme of education that neglects to deal specifically with these conditions unscientific and unsuited to the times? Generally underpaid, always overtaxed, as the

teacher is, with too many pupils and too many subjects, one would be cruel indeed who would add a feather's weight to her burden, even if she, more than any other, had the power to uplift our country once more to the moral height where it has at times stood preëminent.

But the work which the time demands, it will be granted, requires no new subject to be taught, only a new point of view, a new coördination of studies and a new emphasis. It hardly need be said that the foundation of a true pedagogy, as of right living, is a perception of relative values. Every good teacher has in her an element of the heroic, and is willing to diverge when necessary from the popular standard of essentials and non-essentials. It is with the confidence that many have the courage to venture a little farther than custom and tradition have required that the suggestions embodied in the following chapters are respectfully offered.

PATRIOTISM AND THE NEW INTERNATIONALISM

I

PATRIOTISM

"One night, at a banquet of politicians, I was seated beside a man who had grown rich by unswerving loyalty to a corrupt ring — 'the party organization' he would have called it — which had done more permanent harm to his country than a European army could do in two wars. He was not a politician, but a business man; not a boodler, but the backer of boodlers; and his conversation was a defence of 'poor human nature,' till the orchestra struck up a patriotic air. That moved him deeply.

"'Is n't it beautiful!' he exclaimed; and when the boodlers joined in the chorus, he murmured, 'Beautiful, beautiful!' then leaned over and with tears in his eyes said:

"'Ah, but the tune for me, the song I love, is "My Country 't is of Thee."'

"I believe this man thinks he is patriotic. . . . They all are, according to their light, honorable men and patriotic citizens. They simply do not know what patriotism is. They know what treason is in war — it is going over to the enemy, like Benedict Arnold; but fighting in the open and in secret to seize, not forts, but cities and states, and destroy, not buildings and men, but the fundamental institutions of your country and the saving character of American manhood — that is not treason. That is politics, and politics is business, and business, you know, is business." — *Lincoln Steffens.*

I

PATRIOTISM

WITHIN the last ten or fifteen years, as most teachers will agree, there has been a notable increase in national self-consciousness and in that pride of race and nationality commonly called "patriotism." To use the language of the street, there has been a "boom" in patriotism. Various societies whose membership is dependent on descent from patriotic ancestors have gained vast proportions, and in many places a spirit of veneration for the flag has been developed which surpasses reverence for the Scriptures.

In schools the attention paid to patriotism is in marked contrast to that of twenty years ago. Not only is every child taught to salute the flag and pledge loyalty to it, but greater emphasis is put on all national holidays, and flag day is added to the list of school celebrations. One of the beneficent results of this new emphasis upon patriotism has been the speedier amalgamation of the immigrant child, whose pride in his adopted country often excels that of the native born.

When, however, one carefully inquires what our children conceive patriotism to be, and what they mean when they pledge themselves to service of country, is

it not evident that a deplorably vague or even a perverted conception is often linked with that beautiful and sacred word?

If much that is obvious and usual regarding the teaching of patriotism is omitted in this brief consideration of it, the reader will understand that it is not because the writer wishes to minimize it, but because it is apparent that the best service can be performed by dwelling on those phases of the subject which usually receive too little notice.

Is it not true that the word "patriotism" in the minds of probably a majority is perhaps more misunderstood than any other, unless it be the word "religion"? Both have been confounded with pride and prejudice; bragging and bunting and relic-hunting have been often accepted as manifestations of a genuine patriotism, with which they have no more to do than steeples and pulpit cushions and La Farge windows have to do with visiting the fatherless and widows in their affliction and keeping unspotted from the world. Pure religion and undefiled can only be tested by service, service that involves sacrifice. Pure patriotism can be evidenced only by service, a service that costs some effort and is performed every week of every year. When admiration for ancestors who did their duty for their time does not inspire us to do our duty for our time; when "we sit here in the Promised Land that flows with freedom's honey and milk," and fancy that we can take our patriotism vicariously, are we not as far from being patriots as are those who imagine

the kingdom of heaven comes with observation from being soldiers of the cross? Until the idea of patriotism as a constant, daily service for his country has become part of his mental fiber, the parent or teacher is no more fit to teach patriotism than the average high-school girl is fit to teach religion. It may be safely said that the teaching of true patriotism is about as much neglected in American homes as the teaching of religion.

A child's paper, some time since, presented a picture of an old man showing a boy a gun, beneath which were written the words, "A Lesson in Patriotism." Despite the fact that during nine-tenths of our history we have made no use of guns in national defense, and yet were presumably patriots all the time, the pernicious notion generally prevails that patriotism is somehow necessarily connected with the idea of killing.

A teacher in Washington, D. C., reports one of her boys replying to the question, "What is patriotism?" with the prompt answer, "Killing Spaniards." In a certain little "Primer of Patriotism" which has circulated in a considerable number of schools, we find the first question is: "What is the first position of a soldier?" Answer: "Erect, feet firmly placed, heels touching, toes spread slightly outward, the shoulders thrown back, eyes to the front." It is safe to conclude that the average child, from unconscious inference, where he has had no explicit instruction to the contrary, associates patriotism, generally speaking, with

guns and soldiers and bloodshed, and often with little else. In such a vital matter as the defense and service of country by its future citizens, is it not of fundamental importance that, whatever else is neglected, children should be definitely and explicitly taught what the real defense and service of country is?

The prerequisite for successful teaching of patriotism is that the teacher herself shall be filled with her subject, and have a sound philosophy of it. Then, unconsciously, it will give color to all her work. She will recognize that what personal righteousness is to religion, good citizenship is to patriotism. It is the only possible means by which, in a country that has been nine-tenths of the time at peace, patriotism can be an active virtue. If patriotism is narrowed to the activity of but a fraction of the people one-tenth of the time, it can be as little of an inspiration as a religion which is good for only one day in seven. To ennoble good citizenship, to redeem a term which is associated with what is dull and tame and humdrum, and to show it as a joyful, positive, patriotic service, deserving highest honor, — is not this work of vastly more utility to the country than instruction upon the tributaries of the Amazon, or the definition of a rhomboid or a paradigm? Not until good citizenship is seen to be not merely a good thing, but to be patriotism, and not until it is emphasized as covering the largest field of patriotism, and at present showing the rarest type of patriotism, will it command the respect and dignity which is its due.

The basis of good citizenship must be laid in the nursery and primary school. Gradually, as through stories and pictures the child's horizon enlarges and he sees the family as a unit in the larger unit of the town, and it dawns upon him that the town itself is but one among many other towns, all comprehended under the still larger unit of country, he may be taught in many ways his degree of relationship to and his allegiance to each. Long before the study of civil government is begun or that of history and geography has made much progress, the sense of devotion and service to country may be powerfully impressed upon a thoughtful child.

Gratitude and admiration underlie all patriotism that cannot be degraded into mere pride and partisanship. Any self-sufficient modern child who takes all his benefits for granted and knows no reverence for the past can make his first steps in patriotism by learning what he owes his city or town. All this instruction can serve as material for language lessons. In primary grades many a profitable and merry quarter of an hour may be spent by a wise teacher with her class in guessing and tracing the remote origin of pencil, book, ball and crayon which the child uses, and the number and kinds of persons needed for the final production of them all. Little by little, the sense of infinite obligation should be developed, and the great debt to the past and to every land should sink into the subconsciousness of every child long before he sees many of its implications. This

large world-conception, this sense of relationship to humanity, may easily accompany the development of the sense of special obligation to one's own country. Especially fortunate is the American child who attends a public school and who finds schoolmates born in Italy or Poland as quick-witted as himself. His daily experience will aid him to realize that God hath made of one blood all people upon earth, and that he is first of all a human being and secondly an American. This sense of our primary allegiance to the world, the largest unit, has been so slow of growth among the elders that it has been thought impossible to teach it to children. But the natural child is a democrat, and makes no false distinctions as to caste and social status until society teaches him them. He can be led to see that he must love and serve America, not because it is the best country, though it may be that, but because he can do his tiny part in paying the great world of humanity, to which he owes everything, only by helping to make that section which is nearest him the best possible part of the world and at least pass on what he has received. This sense of obligation and responsibility will not result so much from didactic methods as from those that are more indirect. A child who is taught not to make unnecessary trouble, to pick up stray papers, to refrain from marking his neighbor's fence with chalk, to see consequences of his action and to think of others is learning the first principles not merely of good manners, but of public service which is patriotism. These are of infinitely

more consequence than lessons on the flag or on the state seals or on the difference between battleships and cruisers, which many a lad is persuaded to learn by those who imagine such knowledge peculiarly fitted to the patriot.

The combative, belligerent spirit is not to be repressed, but utilized for noble purpose. The small boy who can conceive himself a knight slaying the dragons that beset him and his comrades and rendering valiant aid to the oppressed may be taught to fight with the sword of the spirit the enemies of disorder, meanness, cruelty, which often lurk within his little bailiwick. He will not do this unless his teacher recognizes the profound truth of these words of Judge Richardson: "The dangers, if any exist, to the nation, the state or the city, are not in things outside them, not in the yellow peril, not in foreign enemies or in foreign countries. The dangers lurk deeper, in the distemper, the bad spirit, the ignorance, corruption, evasion of jury duty and other public duties, and apathy among the people, in popular errors concerning the law, the state, and our obligations to it."

To fight for one's country must ever be held up to the child as the most sacred duty; but must not the enemies to be fought be more clearly defined, though their nomenclature will change from year to year as the child's power of perception grows and he comes to recognize their protean forms? Hero worship, especially the worship of heroes who have wrought gallant deeds by saving life rather than destroying it,

will, as every teacher knows, be one of the most potent influences in developing the true spirit of sacrifice and service. The noble deeds not alone of historic characters but of the humble fireman, policeman, longshoreman or engineer may be directly related in the child's mind not merely to a vague humanitarianism but to definite service of country. Especially should the great constructive work of such men as Elihu Burritt, who secured cheap ocean postage; Garrison, who labored to remove the dark stain of slavery from the national flag; Booker Washington, who has toiled to uplift a race; Colonel Waring, who died in his great fight against disease that threatened his country; Jacob Riis, who for a generation has fought a gallant fight against the enemies of the poor and ignorant — such work as theirs and that of many like them should be referred to not merely as "good deeds" but as deeds of service to the country, achieved by painful sacrifice, and essentially patriotic.

The teacher who perceives that the mad passion for money and display which vulgarizes life and consumes capacity for joy and spiritual vision is one of the most dangerous of our country's foes will teach her "nature lessons" as no mere botanist could teach them. She will care less for the memorizing of the names of genus and species than for the opening of her pupils' eyes to a new world of thought and interest and for creating power to enjoy treasures which the poorest may possess and which cannot be bought or sold. Likewise the drawing and singing lessons,

which open new realms of wonder and emotion in the revelation of beautiful forms and harmonies, when directed by a teacher who realizes how these are powerful antidotes to the poisonous sordidness of life, will have less emphasis placed upon mere technical skill and new emphasis upon the elements which cannot be marked or tested by examinations. To create a genuine love of great masterpieces of art and of all that is pure and lovely will be seen by the teacher of the future to be even a greater achievement in any community where dollars form the test of merit and success, than to send forth pupils skilled in reckoning and calculation, who would rather be the richest man in the world than a Shakespeare or a Beethoven. Even the arithmetic class when rightly handled may serve as a medium for patriotic teaching. Why should not city and national expenditures serve as basis for many problems in division, in fractions and proportion? Why should not the local debt and tax rate, the water rate, the cost of lighting and cleaning streets, of building school houses and city hall, the cost of parks and the fire department serve as a basis for calculation as well as the progress of a tortoise and a hare or the business of John Doe and Richard Roe? No word of comment need be uttered, but day after day, as the child's thought is turned to what it costs the city to give him the advantage of public utilities, as he figures on the same problems that are being worked out at City Hall by the assessor or treasurer, little by little an interest will grow in all these matters

with which he is concerned. Especially if he is asked to collect figures as data for his own problems will he find them interesting, and incidentally will learn where such figures are recorded and can be found. Can he not thus discover what a large share he owns in municipal wealth, that property bordering on parks has increased valuation, that beauty pays? Let him discover from tenement statistics the relation of deaths to air space, congestion and sanitation. Set him to figure out the ratio between the cost of education per pupil in every state and the assessed valuation of the state and its industrial output. Let him make quiet deductions of the annual loss to the nation from the destruction of forests, as he is set to figure upon forestry statistics. National and city reports and every magazine and paper will serve the teacher or pupil in gathering data for problems, the working out of which may teach the need of good citizenship and show the relation of cause to effect more than any didactic lesson.

The power to read statistics intelligently is one that the quick reckoner and clever mathematician often lacks. A child who can figure correctly in billions may not have the slightest apprehension of how large an area one hundred acres is, or how long ago one thousand years may be, or how much space a million men would occupy. Experience shows that so little is the latter understood, the idea is commonly prevalent that the world may become overpopulated, and this argument is sometimes adduced as an excuse for

war! — whereas a little calculation proves that all the population of the globe could be put into Texas and allow a half acre for each family. Alfred Wallace, the noted English scientist, has somewhere expressed the wish that in every school a hall of certain dimensions, which he gave, might be provided, its walls covered with little squares a half inch in diameter, and every other square marked with a black dot, the number aggregating one million. Could pupils once get a visual impression of a million people, could they perceive the purchasing power of a million dollars measured in familiar objects, it would be far easier to develop appreciative consideration of national gain and loss. Let the area of the school yard and of the town, the cost of the school building, the town's and state's population, the death and birth ratio and so forth be familiar to the pupil and made the basis of his calculations. Then when he reads that the United States is spending on its navy eight million dollars a month, that fifteen thousand lives were saved in New York by the lowering of the death rate due to Colonel Waring's cleaning of the streets, these statements are not so likely to seem mere unrelated facts of no significance, but pregnant and thought-compelling. It may be said, in passing, that the keen interest of New York boys in this work of street cleaning has been delightfully described by Colonel Waring. Even the most dull detail of civic effort can be made fascinating when seen in its true relation to other things.

The teacher of history who knows where to place

the emphasis will minimize the history of campaigns and dwell on the cause and results of war and on the glorious achievements of explorer and inventor. He will not hesitate to remove the glamor from battle scenes and permit the modern child to see them as the reeking shambles which the older text-books never gave a hint of. It hardly needs to be said that he will give due honor to the brave heroes who fought to win American independence and to preserve the Union, but he will not hesitate to say with General Grant that "the Mexican war was an iniquitous war," and that loyalty to country requires no man to shut his eyes to his country's faults. He will show that, just as Chatham, Fox and Burke opposed their king and rejoiced that the colonies had resisted, and in so doing were loyal to that which was higher than king or party, so in every land the highest loyalty may sometimes require outspoken condemnation of the deeds of any party or administration. The moral heroism which this demands of sincere and thoughtful men needs most explicit emphasis in any community where partisanship and party loyalty as a test of honor are in the very air that every schoolboy breathes. While emphasizing our country's noble inheritance and unexampled opportunities for leadership among the nations, and dwelling especially upon the glorious principles and achievements of the founders of the Republic, the patriotic teacher will indicate the points wherein we have failed and fallen short of our ideals, as well as those in which we have excelled. He will

show that, as no one who loves his brother would shut his eyes to the cancer or consumption that was laying its grip on him, so true love of country demands a keen-eyed vigilance and an honest facing of the facts.

The child must be taught to recognize superior virtues in other nations wherever they exist, and by explicit instruction be saved from ignorant inferences which foster intolerance and conceit. Three or four generations after the war of the Revolution found the majority of American children looking upon England as their hereditary foe, certain that England still maintained some grudge against us and that in our relations she had been invariably wrong and we invariably right. Not that they had been explicitly taught so, but they had never been distinctly taught the contrary. It is only recently that even teachers have realized the force of John Fiske's words, that "the war of the Revolution was a war fought between the progressive party and the retrogressive party on both sides of the Atlantic," and that admiration of Washington and criticism of George III are inculcated in English schools as much as in American. The widespread spirit of hostility which, like a prairie fire, swept over the country after President Cleveland's Venezuelan message, and which utterly amazed England, was a startling revelation of latent belligerency due largely to a narrow and false teaching of history. The inveterate hatred or contempt for what is alien, the naïve assumption that what is different from our

ways marks inferiority, is usually more or less evident in every immature people, whether they be barbarous or merely young. The use of epithets like "Sheenie," "Dago," "Nigger," "Micky," indicates the caste pride and prejudice that exist to some extent in every city school. This spirit in its larger aspects is the patriotism, falsely so-called, which to-day counterfeits one of the noblest of virtues. Our truly great patriots were never guilty of deriding or underestimating our neighbor nations. The spirit of justice, innate in every child, needs only a wider outlook and a genial teacher of judicial mind to enable the pupil to put himself "in the other fellow's place" and give a fair verdict.

If necessary, let the study of mound builders and Indians and Spanish explorers be curtailed a little to give room for two or three weeks' lessons on the English men and institutions which made New England and the town meeting possible. Let no boy complete his schooling with the grammar school without appreciation that the long history from Magna Charta to Plymouth Rock belongs to him. Let him learn to say with the American poet,

> England, our mothers' Mother, come and see
> A greater England here. Come and be
> At home with us, your children, for there runs
> The same blood in our veins as in your sons;
> The same deep-seated love of liberty
> Beats in our hearts. We speak the same good tongue
> Familiar with all songs your bards have sung.
> Those large men, Milton, Shakespeare, both are ours.

As Senator Hoar well said, "English literature is perhaps more familiar to the bulk of our people than to Englishmen themselves. We look to English authority in the administration of our system of law and equity. English aptness for command, habit of success, indomitable courage, unconquerable perseverance, have been and are to remain the American quality. The men of other blood who come here acquire and are penetrated with the English, or perhaps without boasting or vanity we may say the American spirit. It is of this pedigree of the spirit, governed by force of which science has yet given no account, that we are taking account to-day."

It is needless to remark that the teacher of history must succeed in developing the power of imagination and sympathy, if the facts of history are to be comprehended so as to promote either a spirit of patriotism or a true internationalism. The recommendation of books for outside reading should be made with this in mind. It has been observed that many young girls of wealth have no interest whatever in modern fiction like Cable's or Miss Murfree's or any, in short, that deals with types of life which they consider alien to their own. The narrowness of sympathy and the crude judgments due to a sluggish imagination account for much of the passion and prejudice in the world, which a true education of the imagination would have corrected.

The very title, "Little Cousins," which is given to a certain series of children's books that reflect the child

life of all countries is an illustration of the spirit which should permeate the classes in general history, literature and geography. The reading lesson almost equally with the history lesson furnishes material for the incidental inculcation of patriotism and a true internationalism. Whether the reading lesson be a mere study of definition and pronunciation and a bore to every lively boy, or be an inspiration, depends largely on the mood and point of view of the teacher. Unless she herself sees the lesson not as a mere drill in reading, but as an opportunity to stir imagination, to rouse emotion, inquiry and thought, she will not know how to utilize one of the greatest of her opportunities.

Declamations are less frequent exercises than formerly, and the present generation rarely memorizes those eloquent orations that put so much "beef, wine and iron" into the make-up of the boys who are the fathers of to-day. Reverence is a rare virtue closely akin to true patriotism. If one would develop it as Dr. William T. Harris has wisely counselled, we would do well to learn the lesson which China teaches our young race, in which reverence is a virtue little in repute. The psychologist perceives a close connection between the excessive memorizing of the words of wisdom of the sages and the extreme respect and reverence paid to age and national traditions in the land of the rising sun. Would we have a reverence less extreme than theirs, but salutary and much to be desired, let us consider what may be achieved by storing up in memory the treasures of the past. Let

Washington and Jefferson, Sumner, Phillips, Lincoln, Lowell inspire our youth, and patriotism will never be a narrow and superficial thing, associated with noise and bunting and Maxim guns; but it will be "the life of whatever makes life worth the living," permeating the performance of every humble task for ward and precinct, and transfiguring the drudgery of good citizenship into sacrifice and service for country. To make that service reward enough in itself is the highest task the teacher can accomplish.

What we want is an active class who will insist in season and out of season that we shall have a country whose greatness is measured not only by its square miles, its number of yards woven, of hogs packed, of bushels of wheat raised, not only by its skill to feed and clothe the body, but also by its power to feed and clothe the soul; a country which shall be as great morally as it is materially; a country whose very name shall not only, as now it does, stir us as with the sound of a trumpet, but shall call out all that is best within us by offering us the radiant image of something better and nobler and more enduring than we, of something that shall fulfil our own thwarted aspiration, when we are but a handful of forgotten dust in the soil trodden by a race whom we shall have helped to make more worthy of their inheritance. — *James Russell Lowell.*

O, Beautiful! my Country, ours once more!
Smoothing thy gold of war-dishevelled hair,
O'er such sweet brows as never other wore,
And letting thy set lips,
Freed from wrath's pale eclipse,
The rosy edges of their smile lay bare, —

What words divine of lover or of poet,
Could tell our love and make thee know it,
Among the Nations bright beyond compare?
What were our lives without thee?
What all our lives to save thee?
We reck not what we gave thee;
We will not dare to doubt thee,
But ask whatever else and we will dare.

James Russell Lowell.

II

THE NEW INTERNATIONALISM

"It is hardly too much to say that, for economic purposes, all mankind is fast becoming one people, in which the hitherto backward nations are taking a place analogous to that which the unskilled workers have held in each one of the civilized nations. Such an event opens a new stage in world history." — *James Bryce.*

"To save America, America must save the world."
Professor Phelps.

"The time has come when the study of peace shall be made more important in schools than the study of war. The methods of peace must be studied in kindergarten and grammar schools, high schools and universities. The victories of peace must be celebrated there. In a bitter, satirical passage, Carlyle shows that in his day England did not perfectly educate any child of England, excepting the men who carry guns. You have trained half a million men so that they shall know how to kill you, 'and you have trained no man besides.' That bitter epigram, thank God, has ceased to be true as sixty years have gone by. But even now, think how much more care you give to the study of the histories of war than to the histories of peace. There are ten times as many people who know who commanded at the battle of New Orleans as there are who could tell me the name of the great apostle who made freedom the law of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, North and South Dakota, and Michigan. This man died and left no memorial. But there is hardly a boy or girl more than ten years old in Boston who has not been taught that the Duke of Wellington beat Napoleon at Waterloo, or who commanded at New Orleans. And that we must change." — *Edward Everett Hale.*

II

THE NEW INTERNATIONALISM

In the year 1905, certain significant steps were taken in the educational world which marked distinct progress toward a new spirit of internationalism. A practical endeavor to relate education to modern conditions was manifested in Myers' Modern History, the new edition of which contained an admirable chapter on "The World State." In April, the following notable letter was sent by Secretary Martin of the Massachusetts State Board of Education to all the school superintendents in the State:

"A statute which has made the school laws of Massachusetts famous for more than a century imposes upon all instructors of youth the obligation to use their best endeavors to instill into the minds of the children and youth committed to their care the principles of 'love of country, humanity and universal benevolence.'

"It has become a general practice in schools to stimulate the love of country by special exercises in connection with the public holidays, Feb. 22, April 19, and May 30.

"A favorable opportunity to cultivate the other two virtues, 'humanity and universal benevolence,' is now afforded in the setting apart of the 18th of May in commemoration of the opening of The Hague Conference,

May 18, 1899. This day is to be widely celebrated in Europe and by numerous organizations in America.

"The Board of Education recommends that appropriate exercises be held in the schools of Massachusetts on May 18 for the purpose of emphasizing the blessings of peace, of showing the superiority of arbitration over war, and of exalting the brotherhood of nations.

"Such exercises might profitably include brief accounts of the settlement of recent international disputes by arbitration, together with quotations, readings and recitations concerning peace from the writings of Washington, Sumner and other statesmen, and from the poems of Holmes, Lowell and Whittier.

"An appropriate motto for the day would be: 'God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth.'"

Shortly afterward similar letters were issued by educational authorities of Ohio and New York City. To a considerable extent the teachers responded to the suggestions, and without much opportunity properly to prepare for the occasion did their best under the circumstances. A brave beginning was made in what is soon to become an international celebration of great significance. In 1906, every State Board of Education in every state will be requested to recommend an intelligent observance of May 18 in the schools.

This movement to acquaint the rising generation with the new conditions that make war an anachronism in the civilized world to-day, and to point out a substitute for it which is already practicable, is not confined to American schools. French teachers have for years led in this movement; in one winter, six

hundred illustrated lectures on peace and war were arranged by French teachers. The numerous battle scenes which have decorated school walls are gradually being removed, and "Lectures Historiques pour la Paix" have been prepared for school reading, which are simple, graphic and effective. At the Congress held at Lille, in 1905, the Association of French Public School Teachers, with a membership of fifteen thousand, declared in its resolutions that, "The teachers are energetic disciples of peace. Their watchword is, 'War against war.'"

At the International Congress which met in 1905 at Lüttich, in which eighteen nations were represented, including many German and Austrian teachers, an entire day was devoted to the theme: "What can the schools contribute to the spread of the peace idea?" Their conclusion was that the entire instruction in all the schools must be permeated with the peace idea. "Instruction in history," they said, "should be of a kind to show the great law of solidarity which unites all men, all the intellectual and spiritual workers of the past. Through geographical instruction it should be shown how the living generation works in the same way, how the lines of trade and communication are established and multiplied, how the exchange of the products of all lands secures a common life on a broader and more comfortable basis."

The congress united in certain general statements and certain definite practical propositions. The five general principles were as follows:

" 1. The children must be taught to understand that there are not two kinds of morality, one for nations and another for the individual.

" 2. The children must be permeated with the feeling of brotherly love towards all the peoples of the earth, without distinction of race, color or religion.

" 3. They must be influenced to respect all life, not only the life of man, but also of animals, in this way being led to overcome childhood's destructive tendencies and to feel more sensitively the horrible character of war.

" 4. The children must learn, along with the feeling of their own right and dignity, respect for the right and dignity of others.

" 5. The idea of righteousness and justice must permeate the children, and they must learn that love of country does not stand opposed to the love of humanity."

The particular educational recommendations made by the congress were as follows:

" 1. Two peace festivals should be held annually in all the schools of the civilized nations, one on the 22d of February and one on the 18th of May, the anniversary of the opening of The Hague Conference.

" 2. Everything possible should be done to promote the travel of students and young teachers in foreign lands, in order to establish and multiply good relations between them and the young people of other nations.

" 3. The exchange of visits between students during the holidays should be promoted.

"4. International correspondence should be promoted.

"5. Organizations should be arranged by which differences and troubles arising among students should be settled by a tribunal composed of the students themselves."

The International Students' Congress meeting in Lüttich at the same time passed the two following resolutions:

"1. A peace propaganda shall be organized, to take in the whole world in its operations.

"2. Peace clubs shall be organized in all the different universities."

The committee of the congress was instructed to prepare a statement of its recommendations, to be transmitted to the different Governments, with the request that it be brought everywhere to the knowledge of those charged with the direction of elementary education.

It is interesting to observe that not only was the 18th of May recommended for celebration, but Washington's birthday as well. In this country, the closing of schools on that day and the necessity of devoting exercises on the preceding day exclusively to the character of Washington precludes that date being chosen.

At the same time that preparation for instruction in world organization was begun in American common schools, a significant movement for similar instruction in colleges was heralded by a ringing address from Chancellor MacCracken of New York University at

the Arbitration Conference at Lake Mohonk in June, 1905. This conference was attended by three judges of The Hague Court, one of whom presided. Among the two hundred eminent men who were invited were five diplomats, six government officials and congressmen, twelve judges of the United States Courts and Superior Courts of the different states, twenty-nine college presidents and professors, nearly as many lawyers, and as many clergymen, besides distinguished editors, literary men and captains of industry. The following extracts from Chancellor MacCracken's address form a noble and original contribution to pedagogy:

"If we can imagine that throughout a generation the higher schools of learning of our own country had done the utmost possible in teaching a right doctrine respecting national obligations, and that in like manner in a sister nation the teachers of that nation, in school and college and university, had also done their utmost duty in the same direction, then the highest probability would be that the governments of those nations would never dream of arriving at a settlement of their differences by the use of the cannon and sword.

"Charity begins at home. The charity towards mankind that would make war impossible, or at least in the highest degree improbable, must begin its work in our own country. But charity that begins at home ought not to stay at home. The universities and colleges of the United States may possibly, after more nearly fulfilling their obligations to their own land,

attempt something for other lands in this matter of preventing or hindering the nations of the earth from strife such as this week has strangled from seven to fourteen thousand men in iron boxes under the sea called the Pacific Sea.

"What are the universities and colleges of America attempting to-day in the matter of instruction regarding the neighborship of nations?

". . . The phrase, 'Laws for the practice of war,' ought to sound as absurd as laws for the practice of duelling or laws for the practice of adultery. We teach our students in our four hundred universities and colleges a text-book that has more pages on the laws of war than on how nations should behave one to another in peace, or what they ought to do in order to preserve the peace one with another. . . . Suppose that our universities and colleges should introduce a text-book to indoctrinate students on the relation of husband and wife, what would you think if this text-book had one hundred and seventy pages on how husbands and wives should behave themselves when they were at peace one with the other, and two hundred pages on how a husband and a wife should act when they were so unhappy as to be belligerents one against the other?"

After an examination of two hundred text-books of history Chancellor MacCracken commented:

"The best that can be said of them is that they devote less proportionate space to accounts of war than histories did a generation ago; but the horror

of war, the destruction of war, the crime of war are not made one-quarter as manifest as they ought to be by these high school and college books. . . .

"The teaching of history should receive improvement along three distinct lines. The first is the magnifying of the achievements of nations in the arts of peace. This in some measure is being done. The Short History of England by J. R. Green marked an epoch in text-books of this kind. The second is a truthful and vivid account of the misery and cost of war. Instead of the conventional and impossible pictures of a battlefield found in our histories, let us insert a few photographs of the actual battlefield just before the dead are interred or even the wounded are removed. Third, let us begin with the history in the high school to describe and to exalt the preventives of war. Possibly the time has come to insert in every text-book of history, whether for high school or college, a brief history of arbitration with its achievements and its heroes. As a life-long advocate of the study of the history of Greece and Rome, I should be entirely willing to have a history of arbitration substituted in its place in the high school curriculum. This history would come more near to the thoughts of the lads from fifteen to eighteen years of age. Greece and Rome are far away and somewhat incomprehensible by the average youth. The history of the efforts of nations to avoid war, including a vivid portrayal of what is to be gained thereby in the saving of life, of toil and treasure, would be related to very recent times. It

would treat of nations which every day are named in our papers and which send their sons every week to our shores. When the colleges announce credits for knowledge of the history of arbitrations and offer examinations upon the same, then the teaching of this subject will quickly take its place as a part of the course in history for the hundreds of thousands of youths in the high schools of our land.

" The high schools complete the general education of a vast majority of our people. Our citizens must learn this important subject here or never learn it. They go hence into business and trades and professions. Here, therefore, I would have them learn whatever of history is best.

" If a committee should go from this Conference to our colleges and universities, I would have them propose to the latter to offer credit at their entrance examinations for knowledge of a text-book on the 'history of the economics of arbitration' as soon as such a text-book suitable for high schools can be found.

" This is the speediest, the least oppressive and most effective way of offering to an unnumbered host of American youth such great themes as have engaged our minds here for three days. I respectfully submit that what is important enough to bring us here to take a course of six hours a day in the lecture room, and almost as many hours in our private conversations, deserves to occupy some of the time of our high school boys and girls quite as well as the wars of

Sparta with Athens, or of the Carthaginians with Rome. Thus far I am proposing to use the college and its entrance examination as a lever to lift the high schools to a study of our subject.

"But I would reach as well the college itself. I would have every college require every student who does not at entrance offer some knowledge of 'the history and economics of arbitration' to take it up as a freshman or sophomore course, or half course, or quarter course, in the department of history. The same manual that should be prepared for the high school would answer here. It should be so vivid, so accurate, so up-to-date, that the student would want to preserve it as a book of reference and add to it from his reading in succeeding years.

"From such an arrangement would quickly spring clubs in our colleges. Why not then suggest to these clubs or societies in our colleges and universities the name of 'world-government clubs'? Are not we hoping for a world government? . . . World government is not in the air; it is in men's minds. It is on men's tongues. It is the goal of the straight line along which the wills of strong men now run."

Ex-President Daniel C. Gilman, at the same Mohonk Conference, said: "The opinions brought out here to-day are those that ought to be carried by an organized effort into all the colleges and universities of the land. If you can get, say, one-tenth of the enthusiasm that the young men bestow upon the athletic field directed

to the study of these great international questions, the great contests between nations and the proper mode of dealing with them, the victory is ours. It may be desirable for this conference, before it breaks up, to initiate some measures by which in every college in the land — beginning with the older ones, Harvard and Yale, whose example is likely to be followed by the younger ones, until we reach California — international arbitration shall be studied. Let there be in every college and university an assembly of the students, and do not let the professors do all the talking; let some one from a distance come and tell the story, and throw the discussion open to the young men. . . . I would have the same movement go into the colleges for young women, so that the educated young men and young women of our country may grow up breathing the air of international arbitration as freely and as naturally as they do the air that supports their life."

The suggestion of Ex-President Gilman coincided with a project that was favored by Hon. Andrew D. White, and as a result a committee of seven distinguished educators was selected to promote the study of arbitration in colleges. These were Ex-President Low of Columbia University, Ex-President Andrew D. White of Cornell, Ex-President Daniel C. Gilman of Johns Hopkins University, and Presidents Seelye, Alderman and Wheeler. Resolutions were passed suggesting to colleges that concerted action be taken to secure among undergraduates early and careful

consideration of the principles of international arbitration, and recommendations were made that the 22d of February or May 18th be chosen for student meetings to discuss this subject.

The newly inaugurated interchange of lectureships between Berlin and Harvard universities, due to the happy thought of Kaiser Wilhelm, and the recent gift of fifty thousand dollars to Columbia University to provide a Theodore Roosevelt professorship of American History and Institutions in Berlin, with courses on German institutions at Columbia, are encouraging indications that scholarship is beginning in new ways to break down national barriers.

The recent vigorous movement to spread the knowledge of a new and marvelously simple auxiliary language — Esperanto — is another indication that is big with promise. With our increasing relations with the Orient and with all nations to which language forms a serious barrier, the need of a perfectly simple, regular and copious language which can serve as a medium with all people becomes increasingly felt, as no existing language fills the requirements.

Sir Thomas Barclay, whose eminent services in promoting a *rapprochement* between France and England is well known, thus described at the last national English Peace Congress a new movement to bind diverse elements together:

"In London recently was founded an International Brotherhood Alliance, with the idea of having the simple purpose before them of promoting good rela-

tions with the people of all other nations. It might include an enormous number of adherents. The pledge they take towards the alliance is simply this, 'We undertake to do everything in our power to promote good feeling with the people of other nations; and we will do all we can to discourage anything which goes to make those relations other than friendly.' That is all. Everybody can subscribe to that. But it goes a little farther. Every member of that Brotherhood will wear a badge, or be entitled to wear it, a badge by which he will know who are in it; and when a Britisher meets a Frenchman, and he sees the badge in his buttonhole, he will shake hands with him, and they will know each other. It will be a sort of Freemasonry, in which all the well-wishing citizens and subjects of different countries will form a Brotherhood, and will think nothing of political differences that separate them from each other. That Brotherhood, I think, will find in this Society a great support. It already counts in Finsbury something like eight thousand members. At Lille I am told they are getting on to the twenty thousand. And it will spread all over the country. I am told that at Leicester we shall have everybody in it. There is a feeling that that is just the thing wanted, one that gives us one common creed, and a creed by which we shall do everything in our power to prevent the growth again of ill-feeling between this country, at any rate, and our neighbors."

Every year brings an increasing number of inter-

national congresses, such as the Agricultural Congress proposed by the king of Italy, the Medical Congress which gathered three thousand physicians from over the world in France in the summer of 1905, Trades Union Congresses bringing thousands of delegates who represent millions of workmen, Peace Congresses, Teachers' Congresses, the Inter-Parliamentary Union and others too numerous to mention. The latest to be proposed is by the chairman of the London County Council, who plans to bring together annually representatives of every capital of five hundred thousand inhabitants to discuss municipal methods. In conjunction with this congress he also proposes an exchange of pupils between the schools controlled by the municipalities holding membership in the Congress. These various international bonds of interest are multiplying in geometric ratio, and the generation now at school must have its sympathies and imagination trained to meet the new conditions.

Forty years ago the ten seceding states which placed state before country needed to develop out of their provincialism. To-day few would say as one of their citizens then said: "I am first of all a citizen of Harford County, secondly, a citizen of Maryland, and, thirdly, a citizen of the United States." To-day, the citizens of all our states and of every land need a like emancipation from an outgrown theory which would make them set apart any fraction of the globe and say: "My first allegiance is to this. I am first of all a Russian, or a Frenchman, a German or an American."

Just as the citizen will serve his city best who sees that by so doing he serves his whole country, so he will serve his country best who sees that he is first of all a human being, a citizen of the world, one member in a brotherhood which includes mankind.

NOTE. — The committee on colleges, above referred to, report in March, 1906, that sixty-three colleges have planned to hold meetings for addresses or debates on arbitration, or have offered prizes for the best essays on that or kindred subjects, or are in some specific way helping to promote an interest in their students in the new internationalism. Half as many more colleges or universities report that attention has been called to the subject, and others are yet to be heard from. At Columbia University a students' peace society has been formed.

Who shall take the initiative in the movement for world organization? Men of all degrees of intelligence and capacity for organic action people this round world, most of them, however, out of touch with other men outside of a limited circle, comparatively few of them accustomed to self-government under their political system. The initiative would come most readily from a people with experience in self-government, with capacity for organization, with some race or national conception of the unity of mankind and of the subordinate place of the nation in the world organism. It might come from a people acting through a limited monarchy, whose legislative branch spoke the will of the most intelligent and controlling portion of the people, or whose sovereign acted in obedience to popular desire. Possibly it might come from an absolute sovereign who was personally sufficiently progressive and courageous to take the initial step. But the

fittest place for the initiative is in the greatest republic of the world. The United States is the fittest and most likely place in which a proposition for world organization in practical form could originate. We have constant experience with the complete sovereignty of the States in some fields of action, joined with national sovereignty in others. We are not yet an empire; the genius of our institutions forbids it. Instinctively we act constantly upon the correct principle that local justice is best secured through local sovereignty, while in matters of national concern, national authority, acting through a national executive enforcing laws passed by national representatives elected locally, is best for the security of justice and progress. — *Raymond L. Bridgman.*

III

THE STRONG AND THE WEAK

At best we think of India as a good specimen of a bad political system. We are not disposed to be proud of the succession of the Grand Mogul. We doubt whether, with all the merits of our administration, the subjects of it are happy. We may even doubt whether our rule is preparing them for a happier condition, whether it may not be sinking them lower in misery; and we have our misgivings that perhaps a genuine Asiatic Government, and still more a National Government springing up out of the Hindu population itself, might, in the long run, be more beneficial, because more congenial, though perhaps less civilized, than such a foreign, unsympathetic government as our own. — *Prof. J. R. Seeley.*

There is only one test of contract: is it willing, is it good?
There is only one guard of equal right: the unity of blood;
There is never a mind unchained and true that class or race allows;
There is never a law to be obeyed that reason disavows;
There is never a legal sin but grows to the law's disaster;
The master shall drop the whip, and the slave shall enslave the master!

John Boyle O'Reilly.

III

THE STRONG AND THE WEAK

The last century marked an astounding advance in the recognition of the rights of women, children and all within our midst who need protection from wrong or violence. Nevertheless the last decade has seen a departure from this tendency, in the increased emphasis on force and in the speed with which strong nations, in dealing with weak and unprivileged peoples, have extended sovereignty over them. Granted that paternal restraint on the one hand and a period of tutelage on the other may be necessary among nations under certain circumstances, it is sad to witness the popular confusion of thought which fails to distinguish between the true parental attitude, which always recognizes the potential and ultimate political equality of the weak with the strong, and the imperialistic view, which recognizes nothing of the kind.

A few definitions are of extreme importance to clear thought on government; and prospective voters should be taught them as soon as they are old enough to use such words as "imperialism," "expansion," "colony" and "dependency."

Whatever else imperialism may include, it implies

the right of a strong nation to maintain sovereignty over weak ones without acknowledging their potential political equality with itself and consequently without promising or planning ever to grant them either independence or incorporation with full citizenship. A father uses wise control, that he may make his son a man and equal; the child never feels himself doomed to helpless inferiority. The imperialist, however, expects to keep the subject nation always politically inferior, and plans for nothing else. The pupil should be taught sharply to distinguish between "imperialism," a word which relates solely to government, and "expansion," a word which refers merely to acquisition of territory and may or may not be accompanied by imperialism. The addition of Alaska and the Louisiana territory to the United States and of New Zealand to the English Empire illustrate expansion which is not imperialistic. The teacher of history will easily amplify this thought. He will remind the pupil that the word "colony" is often confounded with "dependency," and will show that a colony is always composed of members of a mother country going out to settle a new land. Our thirteen colonies, Australia, New Zealand and Canada mark England's great success in planting self-multiplying bodies of her own stock. The three last mentioned, though parts of the British Empire, have never, it will be explained, been under imperialistic rule; they are practically self-governing, and no restraint would be exerted should they ever ask for independence. Quite differently are India and Eng-

land's other vast dependencies of aliens governed. In holding them lie her chief difficulties. These have increased so enormously within a generation as to have added to the British Empire within that time an area and population equal to those of the whole United States! Of all this new population of over eighty million people, no part has representative government; though often carelessly spoken of as "colonies," these additions are really costly dependencies.[1]

The United States can never properly speak of having any "colonial" policy in the Philippines, for the islands are peopled with aliens, not immigrants. More than mere verbal accuracy is involved in these distinctions. Dangerous errors lurk in a confusion of thought on most matters, but especially when they concern the relations of the strong and the weak. The praise due to England for her unique success in planting colonies has often, by confusion of terms, been assumed to apply to her dependencies as well.

The infamy which this age of expansion witnesses, as one strong nation after another wrests by force or subterfuge rich, tropic lands from their untrained and helpless occupants, is condoned in turn by the citizens of the respective nations. But their pleas, which sound plausible to themselves, sound specious to the others, although they have just been guilty of a similar offence. Though discussion of current political questions is gen-

[1] "Not five per cent of the population of our Empire are possessed of any appreciable portion of the political and civil liberties which are the basis of British civilization."—*John A. Hobson*, "Imperialism," p. 123.

erally debarred the class room, a teacher can nevertheless lay down the elementary principles of international justice. The future voter needs much clearer instruction on these points than his father ever had, if he would not help repeat some of the dismalest blunders of the last century. The certainty of new and larger relationship with the smaller republics of this hemisphere and the awakening Orient demand a wider outlook and a more general knowledge of the elements of international ethics and political science. The boy who has studied the history of the United States can be made to comprehend these elementary principles, a mastery of which is of infinitely more importance to his usefulness than proficiency in cube root and mensuration. He can be shown that no man in any township, no matter how superior he is or however large his estate, has a right to dominate over an ignorant, shiftless neighbor whose untilled fields offend his thriftiness. He may try to teach and persuade him to send his children to school and to take a bath and go to work, but he has no right to coerce him or annex his acres if he hesitates to do these desirable things. Nevertheless, what the individual may not do the organized community may do for the general good. By concerted action it may enforce obedience to sanitary and other laws on this shiftless citizen, as on every other.

The analogy between a township organized for the order and prosperity of all and an organized body of nations including all the governments of the world

can be made clear as soon as the essential unity of the world and the interdependence of all parts has been established as a principle. The inevitable result of forces now at work, it must be shown the pupil, will be a federation that must provide control and guidance of the savage races while it would deprive any one nation of the right to dictate or assume authority; it would, therefore, be a world protectorate under which these races would be brought gradually into the family of nations. The present deficiency of international law and organization must be shown as the greatest danger which threatens us, one which true patriotism will work day and night to lessen.

This anarchical international condition is what occasions the exhibitions of greed, arrogance and injustice which disgrace Christendom. Proper organization would keep these passions as dormant as they are in the nation between the citizens of Illinois and Indiana. Pending further world organization, the exercise of force by a strong nation over a weak one, it will be shown the pupil, can be justified only when it is necessary to suppress disorder. Then only a provisional government of explicitly paternal type can satisfy the demands of justice in the Twentieth Century. To enrich and vivify these principles with song and story and newspaper clipping is the weekly privilege of the teacher who has an insight into the meaning of the history which is in the making.

The sublime achievements in seventy years in the transformation, without the use of any force what-

ever, of the cruel cannibals of the Fiji island into peaceful, intelligent Christians is a story more worthy to be told to children than the record of slaughter which disgraced humanity in the advent of the armed white man in the West Indies. The even more marvelous conversion of cannibal Indians on the Pacific coast in British America by the Englishman, Mr. Duncan, who in one generation, without any force but good will and education, wrought a similar change, is an inspiring story which should be as well known to school children as the bloody tales of Cortez or Pizarro. The long record of brutality and perfidy that has blackened civilization, as it has touched the colored races down through the ages till the last Congo horror under the rule of the King of the Belgians, may well serve to point the moral that the most privileged people have been often the most arrogant and cruel. One even asks if up to date it is not a question whether the backward races on the whole have not suffered more than they have gained from contact with those who are their superiors in science and culture. The code of ethics of the family, of the city, of the nation is fairly understood; but duty in the larger circle of relationships — in the family of nations — has thus far hardly been broached within school walls. Yet where else is it ever to be taught to the masses who make up that public sentiment which controls the world's parliaments?

Not merely the would-be scientific disciples of Nietzsche, but the man in the street, is often deplor-

ably convinced that the doctrine of the "survival of the fittest" means the survival of nature's highest product, which alone ought to survive. Thus men misunderstand and pervert the teachings of science, and look with complacency upon a "march of progress" in which the privileged and crafty take advantage of the weak and ignorant and consume them as remorselessly as primeval monsters destroyed little man in the aeons before he had himself created a new environment in which his wit provided hatchets and arrows that secured his preservation.

The man who has never read a page of science finds that the phrase "struggle for existence" explains so satisfactorily attainment in the world of fish and reptile that he jumps to the conclusion that all progress of immortal beings must likewise come by the same method of strong exterminating weak. Unhappily he knows not that mutual aid, even in the brute world, is likewise a factor in evolution and in the world of human organization is the dominant factor. What may hold good in the realm of wolf and shark does not hold good in the world of John Howard and Wilberforce, of Florence Nightingale and Abraham Lincoln; and the true evolutionist never claimed that it did.

"We know that there has never been any progress in civilization without war" was the recent amazing statement of an American general. For the time being he had forgotten that Moses or St. Paul had ever affected human wills; that Columbus, Copernicus,

Gutenberg, Watt and Morse had done anything to emancipate man from the brute limitations in time and space and experience; that Homer, Shakespeare, Phidias, Raphael, Beethoven and ten thousand other God-gifted beings had wrought miracles and lifted millions on their shoulders and borne witness how "nigh is grandeur to our dust" and how far man may transcend the laws that govern the beasts which prey upon each other.

While the boy must learn that no progress in civilization is made without struggle, he must learn also that this struggle need not involve slaughter or injury to anyone; struggle against indolence, ignorance, ill health and the forces of nature are quite sufficient to develop brawn and bravery. The pupil will learn that, while war was inevitable before the advent of agriculture, when men subsisted on a limited amount of game, ever since abundance of food has been made possible war has become less excusable. Our admiration of heroes who fought in the old days when war had much excuse must not blind us to the fact that that time is now passed. Coöperation must be emphasized as the only key to normal human progress. The "survival of the fittest" must be explained as simply the survival of the creature best fitted for its particular environment — a low creature if the environment be of a low order. Fish and clams survive where man drowns, because they are better fitted to survive in water. The worm survives in earth where highest forms of life die. Nero survives in a period wherein

the martyr is slain by lions in the arena. Edison and Emerson perish in an environment in which the prize-fighter would be the last to survive. Huguenot artisans can not survive in France, nor men of breadth of vision in Spain, when ignorance and superstition reign. Spite of the advance in human knowledge which the doctrine of evolution has brought, the unfortunate perversions of ideas regarding that side of it which concerns "struggle" and "survival" almost compel the conviction that hitherto the world has lost as much as it has gained by it. It is vitally important that the current phrases connected with it shall be disabused of their wholly unscientific interpretation. Too often have they been used by callow thinkers to bolster up certain popular conceptions of national "duty" and "destiny" on which superior peoples have comfortably leaned when, looking about for future markets, they have cast envious eyes upon some Naboth's vineyard.

We have made more progress in intelligence than in kindness. For thousands of generations, and until very recent times, one of the chief occupations of men has been to plunder, bruise and kill one another. . . . The tender and unselfish feelings, which are a later product of evolution, have too seldom been allowed to grow strong from exercise; and the whims and prejudices of militant barbarism are slow in dying out from the midst of peaceful industrial civilization. The coarser forms of cruelty are disappearing and the butchery of men has greatly diminished. But most people apply to industrial pursuits a notion of antagonism derived from ages of warfare, and seek in all manner of ways to cheat or overreach each

other. And as in more barbarous times the hero was he who had slain his tens of thousands, so now the man who has made wealth by overreaching his neighbors is not uncommonly spoken of in terms that imply approval. . . . Nevertheless, in all these respects some improvement has been made. . . . The manifestation of selfish and hateful feelings will be more and more sternly repressed by public opinion and such feelings will become weakened by disuse. Human progress means throwing off the brute inheritance, — gradually throwing it off through ages of struggle that are by and by to make struggle needless. Man is slowly passing from a primitive social state toward an ultimate social state in which his character will be so transformed that nothing of the brute can be detected in it. . . . The process of evolution is an advance toward true salvation. — *John Fiske.*

IV

THE NEW COURAGE

The cause of peace is not the cause of cowardice. If peace is sought to be defended or preserved for the safety of the luxurious and the timid, it is a sham, and the peace will be base; war is better. If peace is to be maintained, it must be by brave men, who have come up to the same height as the hero, but who have gone one step beyond the hero! — *Emerson.*

There is nothing good or glorious which war has brought forth in human nature which peace may not produce more richly and more permanently. When we cease to think of peace as the negative of war, and think of war as the negative of peace . . . then shall shine forth the higher soldiership of the higher battles. Then the first military spirit and its works shall seem to be but crude struggles after, and rehearsals for, that higher fight, the fight after the eternal facts and their obedience. . . . "The war-drum throbs no longer, and the battle flags are furled." But it is not that the power of fight has perished: it is that the battle has gone up on to higher ground, and into higher light. The battle is above the clouds. — *Phillips Brooks.*

IV

THE NEW COURAGE

In a recent article in a child's magazine, upon "Military Training in Schools and Colleges," the writer, an army officer, holds out the "prizes" that are now in store "for American boys who have a taste for the military profession," and asks, "Now if this instruction is valuable in colleges, why should it not be equally so in high schools? Is not the high school a fit place to begin such instruction? Would it not be of inestimable value for all our boys to be familiar with the discipline and drill of the army?"

This view is not surprising in a man trained to look upon war as a necessity and ready to pledge himself in advance to fight in any war, just or unjust, which his country may engage in. One scarcely expects a man of war to be trained in pedagogy, or to be well read in substitutes for war, or to realize the changes in industrial conditions and the advance in political science which make the once impossible now possible. Leprosy, smallpox and other scourges which once devastated the world have largely disappeared, and yellow fever, tuberculosis and other diseases give promise of being conquered within a generation. The

physicians who predict their extermination make no wild prophecies, but argue from observed relations of cause and effect. In like manner those who predict the speedy end of international duelling base this prediction upon observance of new conditions and new remedies. Captains of industry, not captains of infantry, are the men whose judgment is required. Knowledge, not so much of physics as of psychology is needed. The man whose study is confined to the trajectory of projectiles, the toughness of armor plate, the efficacy of mines and torpedoes, is not the man to know what constitutes a *casus belli,* what can be accomplished by statesmanship and international law, and especially what constitutes a proper training for the average citizen. It is for the professors of economics and history, statesmen, the members of boards of trade, the men and women who know normal life and action and understand what affects human friendship and enmity to determine what constitutes national defence. They already perceive that armor plate is not proof against a Chinese boycott; that constant rumors of war are fatal to investments; that confidence, trust, good will and justice are more effective in securing markets than all the navies of the world combined. They, and not the soldier, know best what should be the education which will ensure prosperity and peace with honor. If international war is doomed, and if civil war in the very nature of the case can never be prepared for; if all the militia needed to keep order are but a few thousand among eighty million people,

why take any of the precious years of youth to train them for work which not one in a thousand will ever perform? If there be any compulsory training, let the business of life saving, and the fireman's and coast-guard's work suggest what that may be.

The craze for military training and target-practice which is now sweeping over England, instigated by Lord Roberts and others, is most ominous in its influence on the schools, many of which, including Eton, have been driven to introduce compulsory rifle practice in preparation for "national defence." The fever infects all grades and ages. An East End parson tells delightedly the talk of boys in his school:

"What are you up to?"

"It 's khaki. I 'm General Roberts shooting the Boers. See that Bobby down the street? He 's a Boer."

"Nonsense! General Roberts, he don't lie down in the mud and shoot; he just stands behind and waves a sword."

"Well, you can be General Roberts, and I 'll be Baden-Powell and lie down behind a kopje and shoot."

"I heard Mr. —— talking about taking us all into the country."

"What fun! We will play Baden-Powell all right there."

"It is hardly to be doubted," said Sir Joshua Fitch in comment, "that in talk of this kind, though it seems harmless enough, is to be found at least a partial ex-

planation of the recent outbreaks of lawlessness and rowdy violence to which the uncouth name of Hooliganism has been given, and which have of late disgraced some of our streets. 'Handling a rifle,' 'forming fours' and 'preparing to receive cavalry' are no necessary part of a good system of corporeal drill; and those who urge that these and similar evolutions should be borrowed from the recruiting ground do so without any reference to the educational value of the exercises, but with the ulterior political object of exciting patriotic enthusiasm and of encouraging the martial spirit among boys."

The clergy, who often seem as uninformed upon modern substitutes for war as are the men whose sole occupation is that of arms, are even turning church basements and grounds into rifle ranges and urging young boys to come and make themselves skilful in the art of killing. All this has been going on with feverish terror under the goad of a jingo press, as if England were likely to have an attempted invasion, which she has not had since the days of the Armada; in short, just as if all that has been done and can immediately be done for effective world organization and security were absolutely unknown.

This new timidity and fear has bred the dogma that every youth must be trained in arms; it is being systematically taught throughout England, turning every lad to thoughts of enemies just when her commercial interests and sound pedagogy should turn his thoughts toward world federation and coöperation. England's

chief weakness is lack of technical training and knowledge how best to market her goods by studying the languages and needs of foreign purchasers. Her annual expenditure for armaments has been doubled in the last ten years. Common sense would suggest that some of these millions would better be invested in technical and commercial schools like those by which Germany's new prosperity was gained. But let no one imagine that America, though with vastly less excuse for hysteria, will necessarily remain immune from the infection of the fatuous policy in education on which England seems embarking; the power of suggestion, as every teacher knows, is great, and the tendency to heedless imitation affects nations as well as school-boys. The educator of to-day must know how to forestall the growth of militarism bred by bugaboos of our own creation. American schools have a noble part to play in keeping America's foreign policy courageous and not timid and suspicious. Let our youth be taught that it is the weakling and the craven, not the valiant and courageous, who never trusts himself in the world's thoroughfare without a bull-dog and revolver and bowie-knife. Let every child be taught the analogy between national friendships and animosities and those of the playground, and be made to see that suspicion, jealousy and greed create greed, jealousy and suspicion, and that good will and cheerful fearlessness breed their counterparts. Only the teacher who has gained a deep philosophy of life and has laid hold upon the eternal verities can rightly

teach the significance of the new internationalism. Unless he profoundly believes that the only permanent forces are spiritual forces, he will not perceive or teach his students to perceive that the safest, the most scientific method of defense of a strong, rich nation in the Twentieth Century is in the lessening, not the increasing, of whatever antagonizes other nations, and in strenuously promoting whatever tends toward unity. He will tolerate no phrases like " our dominance of the Pacific " or " the dominance of the Anglo-Saxon race." He will point out the great commercial loss by the Chinese boycott on American goods, due to the harsh and unwarrantable treatment of an industrious, inoffensive people. China, rousing from her sleep of ages and about to join the representative governments and overthrow age-long customs and traditions, is turning from her peaceful policy, and in self-defence is following the younger " Christian " nations toward militarism. This country, which includes one-quarter of the population of the globe, is to weigh her people down with a burden of taxation and hang a millstone round about her neck, and all unwillingly. Even now, did sane counsels prevail in occidental governments, this world calamity might be averted and the rising hostility be assuaged. While these complex problems, which tax the brains of diplomats and statesmen, can be discussed in the class room in only the most cursory manner, yet some clear statement of the elements of the problem needs to be presented to the young citizens who must suffer in the future if an unwise or arrogant policy is adopted.

The importance of Franklin's dictum can be emphasized: "The worst thing you can do to a customer is to knock him on the head." The results of the Opium war and other aggressions and our own harsh policy and broken treaty regarding admission of the upper class of Chinese may well receive attention as matters of history quite as important as Indian forays two hundred years ago or the wars of the Plantagenets.

That the teacher will inculcate veneration and gratitude for the heroes who fought for independence and to preserve the Union need not be said. This necessary instruction need not detract from her emphasis upon the fact that most wars have been needless and that international war can no longer have moral sanction; that the physical bravery, which of necessity was the prime virtue among primitive peoples, must now yield in importance to that moral bravery which the times demand.

The thoughtful teacher will be careful about permitting battle scenes, or anything that familiarizes a child's mind with ruthless slaughter, to hang upon the school walls. He will consider the songs that are sung, no matter how hallowed by custom or tradition they may be. If the words, "Then conquer we must, when our cause it is just," are sung, he will point out that this is not justified either by history or common sense. He will show that a just cause does not necessarily bring victory. Newer guns, a better commissariat or mere accident may win the day. If they sing "The army

and navy forever!" he will show that the writer of the words did not mean that war would never cease. If emphasis is always laid on justice, and the injustice of the individual duel is made clear, it will be easy to make even the members of a Boys' Brigade perceive that international duelling should be ended not so much because it makes havoc and misery as because sacrifices to the god of war do not bring justice, but only show which opponent is the stronger. Civil war, which is in a category by itself and for which no substitute is as yet provided, must be differentiated from international war, for which there now are substitutes. It is well to remind pupils that the Revolutionary War was essentially a civil war.

All that is admirable in war must be retained in peace. The love of adventure, the daring bravery, the virile virtues, all that stirs the blood and arouses the spirit of manly youth, must be turned to use. There are a thousand contests to be fought before this untamed planet shall yield its secrets and become the servant of man. Let manly sports and athletic games toughen muscles and train temper and nerves, but let the essential sacredness of human life be emphasized. Why should one encourage boys to fight sham battles with toy guns any more than he would let them play at execution and burial with toy gallows and coffins? Let the taking of human life seem the ghastly and repulsive thing that it really is, uncolored by the rosy glamor which has been sedulously thrown around the battle-charge. Wesley said wisely that the devil must

not have all the good tunes. Why should not fife and drum and uniform and banners be enlisted in all civic pageants where no thought of war intrudes? Why should not children have their fill of color and rhythm and melody, and associate it not with destroying life but with saving it? Why should not America follow the beginning just made in England in forming children into Life Saving Brigades, in which drill in life saving from drowning, fire and so forth arouses enthusiasm of girls and boys?

America needs a new courage, or rather a return to the courage which she once had — the courage to take a reasonable risk, the courage to rely upon the teacher more than on machine guns for national defence. She must have the courage of the true educator fifty years ago, who, inspired by the new teaching of Horace Mann with a knowledge of what provoked resistance, laid by the ruler and rattan and tried the modern methods of managing his big boys. Defiance ceased, overcome by simple manliness and good will. There is better discipline in schools to-day than there ever was. The whole atmosphere has improved as the rule of brute force has diminished. Our people must emulate the courage of the explorer, who is willing to run a little risk if he may trace a pathway through new regions, that all the world may follow. We must have the courage of the inventor, who patiently works out his problem undismayed by the skeptic's sneer, confident in the new principle he has discovered, though all past ages had ignored it, — waiting unmoved until the

cynic world is converted and begs to share his fortune. The children of to-day, who are the makers of our destiny to-morrow, must learn to glory in the taking of a noble risk by our beloved land. This does not mean risking complete, immediate disarmament before other nations agree to do the same, but it does imply that the courage which the time demands is the courage to take the lead in that direction, the courage to proclaim that we will be the last to cry for armaments and the first to cry for arbitration, the last to boast of our power and might, the first to bless and honor the world's peacemakers, the last to rely for national defence upon those forces which inspire hate and suspicion, and the first to work for the Parliament of Man the Federation of the World. If the Republic is to maintain the principles of its founders, the new education must create and voice the new type of courage which this critical period in world history demands.

V

ADDRESS ON MAY 18

The laws of progress work for peace. A wise man, when challenged, replied that any fool can propose a duel, but it takes two fools to fight. The nations will yet learn this. Already they are questioning the wisdom of wasting most of their wealth in endless preparations for wars which can be avoided and which cannot come without mutual ruin. Already they see a fallacy in the system which spends millions on a battleship that soon becomes useless by the invention of a better one, and which is forever improving walls to resist cannon and then improving cannon to destroy the walls. They begin to see the folly of fortifying boundaries at infinite expense, when that long one between us and British America has been safe for nearly a century, without walls or warship, by mere mutual agreement. . . . Shall justice be abolished by a national boundary, and the moral law stop at the State line? — *Henry M. Simmons.*

V

ADDRESS ON MAY 18

MATERIAL FOR ADDRESS. GENERAL PRINCIPLES, TO BE PRESENTED BY THE TEACHER IN SUCH FORM AS IS BEST ADAPTED TO THE PUPIL'S COMPREHENSION

A picturesque and simple account of the main facts may be given even to those who have not yet studied any history or geography.

ORGANIZATION — the union of parts in a living whole — each performing its own function in harmony with different ones: — this was the great word of the Nineteenth Century. Organization of business, organization of charities, of churches, of endless associations from boys' clubs to great political machines, and an international Postal Union mark the tendency of the age. The time has passed when any nation can call itself strictly sovereign or independent, even in political relations. Only China has attempted to remain absolutely isolated, and her attempt has failed. Steam and electricity have made us so interdependent that the ends of the earth are summoned to furnish our homes and supply our tables. To-day, we in Boston, New York and Chicago are nearer to Mukden or Timbuctoo than we once were to each other.

The idea of a European federation was first discussed by Henry IV of France in the sixteenth century; Grotius and William Penn in the seventeenth century advanced upon his conception. Immanuel Kant in the eighteenth century with philosophic insight showed that war would not cease until the world was organized, and that it could not be safely organized until it had representative government.

In 1815 the first peace society in the world was founded by David L. Dodge, in New York, and later, William Ellery Channing, Charles Sumner, Noah Worcester, Elihu Burritt and other Americans powerfully developed the idea that arbitration and international organization were the sole preventives of war. So much was said of this that it came to be known fifty years ago in Europe as "The American Way."

The time has passed when European Federation can be safely advocated. To-day nothing less than World Organization will suffice if the world's business is not at any moment to be at the mercy of any hot-headed fraction of the human race that chooses to pick a quarrel. Never was so apparent the force of Lowell's words that

> In the gain or loss of one race
> All the rest have equal claim.

The nineteenth century did much to prepare the way for world organization. It created a basis for it by establishing a widely accepted though unwritten con-

stitution,[1] nearly every article of which is already everywhere recognized and in a more or less imperative way is already in operation. Other manifestations of this trend to organization have been shown in the increasing rapidity of world congresses to consider matters of mutual interest such as postal service, uniform weights and measures, sanitation, suppression of slavery, the advance of international law, etc.

In the last one hundred and twenty-five years representative government has not only spread over all Christendom, but has reached Japan, and in twelve years will be extended to China. This was a prerequisite to any world organization that could be permanent and just. One notable preparation for world organization was the use of arbitration courts or commissions in the settlement of two hundred and fifty important international difficulties, many of which were more serious than some which have led to war. It is to be specially observed that in only a single instance did one of the nations defeated in these settlements refuse to keep its pledge to abide by the decision of the tribunal, and that case was compromised.

The great explicit move toward world organization was taken when the Czar of Russia, in August, 1898, startled the nations with a manifesto in which he called for a conference of the governments represented at his court to consider the putting an end to "incessant armaments, and to seek a means of warding off the

[1] See Chapter III in "World Organization," by Raymond L. Bridgman

calamities that are threatening the whole world." In this remarkable document he declared that —

> Nations' labor and capital are for the major part diverted from their natural application and unproductively consumed. Hundreds of millions are devoted to acquiring terrible engines of destruction, which, though to-day regarded as the last work of science, are destined to-morrow to lose all value in consequence of some fresh discovery in the same field. National culture, economic progress, and the production of wealth are either paralyzed or checked in development.
>
> Moreover, in proportion as the armaments of each power increase, so do they less and less fulfill the object which the governments have set before themselves.
>
> Economic crises, due in great part to the system of armaments *à outrance*, and the continual danger which lies in this massing of war material, are transforming the armed peace of our days into a crushing burden which the peoples have more and more difficulty in bearing.
>
> It appears evident, then, that if this state of things is prolonged, it will inevitably lead to the very cataclysm which it is desired to avert, and the horrors of which make every thinking being shudder in advance.

It was manifest that preparations for war were becoming only one degree less terrible than war itself, and that a halt must be called, as the cost of armaments everywhere was increasing out of all proportion to the increase in population or in wealth.

On the 18th of May, 1899, in response to the Czar's invitation, one hundred distinguished representatives of twenty-six nations, including China and Japan, with

fifty attachés, met in Queen Wilhelmina's little palace called "The House in the Wood" at The Hague. Holland had been chosen as the place of meeting, as it was a small country of which no one was jealous. Our distinguished diplomat, Andrew D. White, then minister to Berlin, was the head of the American delegation. Never in the history of the world had a conference with such opportunities been convened. But just as when the framers of the Constitution of the United States met in Independence Hall in the summer of 1787, fearing that after all nothing important could come of their deliberations, so these men, strangers to each other, met with considerable skepticism as to the outcome of their work. They sat there for months behind closed doors in a circular hall decorated with huge paintings commemorating the Peace of Munster, whose motive is given in the device: "The greatest victory is that by which Peace is won." Day by day, as they worked hard in committees and walked in the green forest and dined together, while the world stood anxious and expectant, the barriers of race and language disappeared, and they came to know and respect and appreciate each other and to believe that something important could be accomplished.

But in the midst of the work of the three committees, the German delegates seemed likely to be obstructionists, and grave anxiety was felt. At this juncture Mr. Holls of the American delegation, a member of the New York bar, hurried to Berlin to interview the authorities. He found there little recognition of the

tremendous importance of the opportunity opened to the Conference or knowledge of the widespread interest in the United States in its success. He had taken with him some of the many messages which our delegation were receiving, and amazed his hearers with their contents. Here, for instance, was a message sent by thirty-one Baptist ministers in Oregon, who each paid a dollar to have it cabled; here was a prayer, written by the Bishop of Western Texas to be read in all the churches of his diocese on every Sunday during the session of the Conference; from all over our country were resolutions and petitions and reports of meetings. In Boston, for four consecutive Mondays, great mass meetings had filled Tremont Temple, all in reference to the work of the Conference. This evidence with other things had weight, and the heartier coöperation of the German delegates was ensured.

It was perceived that the Czar's desire for disarmament could not be considered until first a substitute for war had been provided. This matter was therefore left for later consideration, with the following resolution:

> The Conference considers that the limitation of military charges at the present time weighing upon the world is greatly to be desired for the increase of the material and moral welfare of humanity.

The Conference finally united in signing three Conventions. The first of these provided for various methods of investigation and conciliation, and estab-

lished a Permanent International Tribunal. The judges of this Tribunal or World Court were to be appointed by their respective countries, and form a jury of judges of from sixty to seventy men, who should remain at home save when selected as judges by two nations having a dispute. Then, unless special provision was made to have them meet elsewhere, they were to repair to The Hague to try the case.

It was necessary to have these Conventions ratified by the governments of the nations who had sent delegates to the Conference; and thus it was that it was not until April, 1901, that the Court was really ready for business and housed in a spacious mansion on one of The Hague canals. Some time elapsed before any case was brought before it, and scoffers called attention to this and prophesied that little would come of it. They quite forgot that the Supreme Court of the United States repeatedly met and adjourned, for two years and five months, before it had a single case to try. In a much shorter time than that the first case was sent to The Hague Court by President Roosevelt and President Diaz of Mexico. In a month's time a dispute known as the "Pious Fund" case, which had dragged on for many years, was settled. The ice had been broken, and the great principle of arbitration, now formally acknowledged by all the important nations of the earth, was to receive new prestige. Mr. Andrew Carnegie, whose advocacy of arbitration and of an agreement among leading nations to ostracize any nation that refuses to arbitrate has made him one of

the most noted among workers for peace, gave a million and a half of dollars to build a beautiful Court House at The Hague for the Permanent Tribunal, and to establish a law library in connection with it. This building will soon be erected.

Other cases have since been sent to The Hague Court, involving claims by a dozen different nations. For the first of these we are again indebted to President Roosevelt, who declined the honor of being arbiter when urged to do so and declared that it was for such cases that The Hague Court had been expressly established. In 1905, two great events were made possible by The Hague Conventions. When the Russian fleet fired on some English fishing boats, killing and wounding several Englishmen, the intense excitement which blazed through their country seemed about to precipitate a bloody conflict between Russia and England. But their governments, acting on a provision of one of The Hague Conventions, turned the matter over to a committee of investigation which met in Paris. This decided that the disaster was due to blundering, not to malice. The Russians readily paid three hundred thousand dollars to the families of the victims; and thus what threatened to lead to war was rationally settled and untold misery prevented. The conference at Portsmouth, resulting in the treaty in September, 1905, which ended one of the most terrible wars that history records, would not have been possible had not another provision of The Hague Convention authorized such an intervention as was made by President Roosevelt.

The next great step in securing peace is the signing of general arbitration treaties pledging the nations to send every question except autonomy to be arbitrated by The Hague Court. At an arbitration conference held in Washington in January, 1904, it was unanimously voted that our government be urged to sign such a treaty with England and as soon as possible with other powers. Hon. John W. Foster, a former secretary of state, presided, and the convention was composed of two hundred of the most thoughtful and influential men in the country. Were only three or four great powers to take this step and to agree that they would stop all intercourse with any nation that refused to arbitrate its disputes, war would cease. No nation could endure for a single month to be thus excommunicated.

Questions of "honor" no more need to be settled by bloodshed when they occur between nations than when they occur between individuals. Only Holland and Denmark have thus far agreed to arbitrate every dispute; but Sweden and Norway on their recent separation, having excluded the question of "vital interests" from their treaty of arbitration, agreed that if there were a doubt as to what constituted "vital interests," that question itself should be referred to The Hague Court for settlement.

Pending the reference by every nation of all cases to The Hague Court, the question of neutralization is one that should concern us. Switzerland in 1815 was given "perpetual neutrality" by the powers. Later

Belgium and Luxemburg were likewise neutralized; and peace is forever guaranteed in these fortunate little countries. The extension of neutrality over many dangerously disputed corners of the world, and especially the extension of neutrality for commerce on all seas in time of war, would instantly lessen the demand for armaments and would remove a burden of terror which to-day is nerving the nations to tax themselves for fabulous amounts in the vain effort to achieve a safety which is pushed further off with every new battleship that is ordered.

The second Hague Conference has been already assured by the action of President Roosevelt and the Czar. A gigantic step forward may be taken when it convenes if, in addition to measures for neutralization, for further arbitration and a truce in the increase of armaments, it also will provide for a World Parliament or Congress to meet at regular periods to consider international problems. The recommendations of such a Congress, when they became ratified by the governments of the nations represented, would become international law, to be used by The Hague Court in making its decisions. At present there is little international law; but the world's increasingly complex relations demand far more, which, when supplied, would prevent wars between nations, as the Constitution of the United States by removing causes of war has prevented strife between separate states.

Some reforms must in the nature of the case come slowly, for, like intemperance, social injustice or race

prejudice, they are based on hereditary tendencies or bad economic and social conditions, and they imply a regeneration of society before they can be wholly accomplished. Not so with the peace reform. It does not require a regeneration of all men, but simply that the leaders of thought, members of parliaments, editors, preachers, teachers, boards of trade and bar associations — all told, a very tiny fraction of humanity — shall use their brains to more purpose. Without inventing any new theory or trying dangerous experiments, they have simply to extend the application of the general principles of organization which are best understood, because they have been most largely practised, by the people of our Republic. The weary nations wait a leader to guide them out of bondage. What people is so fitted for the task as our great, rich nation, without an enemy in the world, which has incorporated in its life the members of every other land, and which from past experience has learned the path of progress which alone leads to justice and safety?

VI

MATERIAL FOR PROGRAMS

Men tell us war will cease in this world, and our dreams come true, only with the millennium. I pity men who have such poor notions of the millennium. The evils which we fight are among the grossest and most barbarous of evils. They befit only the early, the elementary and low stages of civilization. Our effort is to clean the Augean stables. Horrors and wickedness such as those which have been going on in Asia ought to be so far behind as not even to be mentioned among civilized men. Toleration of war in this twentieth century after Christ is like setting up the Ten Commandments on the walls of Christian churches, warning presumably decent Christians not to steal or kill or commit adultery. Put the Beatitudes on the walls of your churches! It is only when we have done forever with such savage and gross forms of wrong as war that we shall be in a position to make a first fair start for the millennium. — *Edwin D. Mead.*

VI

INTERNATIONAL DAY, MAY 18, MATERIAL FOR PROGRAMS

Opening Exercises in the Morning

Readings from the Hebrew Scriptures

How lovely are the messengers that preach us the gospel of peace!

To all the nations is gone forth the sound of their words,
Throughout all lands their glad tidings.

The eyes of those who see shall not be closed;
The ears of those who hear shall hearken;
The tongue of the stammerers shall speak plainly.
No more shall the fool be called noble,
Nor the knave any more be named gentle.

The noble deviseth noble things,
And in noble things will he continue.

He who walketh righteously and speaketh uprightly,
Who despiseth the gain of oppressions,
Who stoppeth his ears from hearing of blood,
And closeth his eyes from looking on evil, —

Fastnesses of rocks shall be his stronghold;
He shall abide on impregnable heights.

Rest in the Lord, wait patiently for him;
Fret not thyself because of the wicked who prospereth in his way.
For yet a little while, and the wicked shall not be;
Yea, thou shalt diligently consider his place, and he shall not be;

For the Lord loveth justice, and forsaketh not his saints.

Justice shall dwell in the wilderness,
And righteousness shall abide in the fruitful field;

And the work of righteousness shall be peace,
And the effect of righteousness, quietness and confidence forever.

And God shall judge between the nations,
And arbitrate for many peoples;

He shall make their officers peace, and their rulers righteousness;

And they shall beat their swords into plowshares,
And their spears into pruning hooks;

Nation shall not lift up sword against nation,
Neither shall they learn war any more.

Address upon The Hague Conference, its Causes and Results.

HYMNS

Angel of Peace, thou hast wandered too long!
Spread thy white wings to the sunshine of love!
Come while our voices are blended in song, —
Fly to our ark, like the storm-beaten dove, —

Fly to our ark on the wings of the dove.
Speed o'er the far-sounding billows of song,
Crowned with thy olive-leaf garland of love, —
Angel of Peace, thou hast waited too long!

Brothers we meet, on this altar of thine
Mingling the gifts we have gathered for thee,
Sweet with the odors of myrtle and pine,
Breeze of the prairie and breath of the sea, —
Meadow and mountain and forest and sea!
Sweet is the fragrance of myrtle and pine,
Sweeter the incense we offer to thee,
Brothers once more round this altar of thine!

Angels of Bethlehem, answer the strain!
Hark! a new birthsong is filling the sky!
Loud as the storm-wind that tumbles the main,
Bid the full breath of the organ reply, —
Let the loud tempest of voices reply, —
Roll its long surge like the earth-shaking main!
Swell the vast song till it mounts to the sky!
Angels of Bethlehem, echo the strain!

Keller's American Hymn. *O. W. Holmes.*

Come, kingdom of our God,
Sweet reign of light and love!
Shed peace, and hope, and joy abroad,
And wisdom from above.

Over our spirits first
Extend Thy healing reign;
There raise and quench the sacred thirst
That never pains again.

Come, kingdom of our God,
And make the broad earth Thine;
Stretch o'er her lands and isles the rod
That flowers with grace divine.

Soon may all tribes be blest
With fruit from life's glad tree,
And in its shade like brothers rest,
Sons of one family.

Johns.

A recessional hymn led by flag-bearer, the flag bordered with white. Not too slow

God, the All-terrible King, who ordainest
Great winds Thy clarions, the lightnings Thy sword:
Show forth Thy pity on high where Thou reignest;
Give to us peace in our time, O Lord.

God, the All-merciful! earth hath forsaken
Thy ways of blessedness, slighted Thy Word;
Bid not Thy wrath in its terrors awaken;
Give to us peace in our time, O Lord.

God, the All-righteous One! man hath defied Thee;
Yet to eternity standeth Thy Word;
Falsehood and wrong shall not tarry beside Thee;
Give to us peace in our time, O Lord.

God, the All-pitiful! is it not crying —
Blood of the guiltless, like water outpoured?
Look on the anguish, the sorrow, the sighing;
Give to us peace in our time, O Lord.

God, the All-wise! by the fire of Thy chastening,
Earth shall to freedom and truth be restored;
Through the thick darkness Thy kingdom is hastening,
Thou wilt give peace in Thy time, O Lord.

Russian Hymn. *Chorley.*

MATERIAL FOR PUPILS' EXERCISES

To be written on the blackboard and read in concert

Mottoes

"My country is the world, my countrymen are all mankind." — *Garrison.*

"I count nothing human foreign to me." — *Terence.*

The Practical Program for World Organization

Already Achieved

1. Representative government in recent times in all Christendom, and the peaceful union of small states to form larger ones, as in Italy and Germany.
2. The establishment of a World Tribunal at The Hague in 1901.

Yet to be Achieved

3. General arbitration treaties between all nations, pledging reference of all disputes to the World Tribunal, as a few nations already have done.
4. The establishment of a World Congress.
5. Gradual, proportionate disarmament.
6. An international police force.

Questions asked by one pupil and answered in turn by ten others

What are some Causes of War?

1. A military class ambitious for activity and promotion.

2. Contempt for peoples who have not white skins.

3. Lack of power to put one's self in another's place, and of will to do justice.

4. Greed for high interest, which war loans provide. Rich investors have much political power, and are made richer by war, while the masses are impoverished. Most wars would end quickly, were war loans impossible.

5. "The vast expenditure on armaments, the costly wars, the grave risks and embarrassments of foreign policy, the stoppage of political and social reforms within Great Britain, though fraught with injury to the nation, have served well the business interests of certain industries and professions," says an English economist.

6. "That original sin of nations, — the greed of territorial aggrandizement," said Gladstone.

7. "You push into territories where you have no business to be and where you had promised not to go. Your intrusion provokes resentment, and resentment means resistance. You instantly cry out that the people are rebellious, in spite of your own assurance that you have no intention of setting up a permanent sovereignty over them. You send a force to stamp out the rebellion. Having spread bloodshed, confusion and anarchy, you declare, with hands uplifted to the heavens, that moral reasons force you to stay. These are the five stages in the Forward Rake's Progress," says John Morley.

8. *Investors.* Foreign investments are enormously

increasing in weak and poorly governed countries. Poor Asiatics are supposed to be better customers than our own negroes and poor whites and South Americans. Put this year's naval budget into Southern schools, create new wants and resources, and we should have immensely larger sales near home.

9. *The Sensational Press.* It enlarges on every misunderstanding and evil rumor. It exaggerates and distorts news with false headlines, — anything to create a fever, sell papers and coin money. Its readers are fooled, and fooled all the time.

Who are our Greatest Enemies?

10. Our greatest enemies have been not "red coats" nor "gray coats," Mexicans nor Malays, but "grafters," "boodlers," ballot-box stuffers and anarchists of all kinds, from red-handed lynchers to millionaires who bribe legislatures and judges who defeat justice by technicalities. These have attacked our honor and poisoned our life blood in time of peace.[1]

[1] This exercise and the section on "Some Famous Workers for Peace" are reprinted from the author's "Primer of the Peace Movement."

EXERCISES FOR PUPILS

These may easily be expanded or abridged or made more dramatic

A Peace Conference

For twenty-one pupils. Three pupils take seats on the platform

Chairman. The meeting will please come to order. Before opening our discussion, I am happy to say that we have communications from three of the most eminent peace workers in Europe, — the Bishop of Hereford, the Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, and the Baroness von Suttner. The Bishop of Hereford, who, you will remember, came over to the Boston Peace Congress in 1904, writes that he has been made more hopeful by the visit he paid to Boston, and by the part taken in the Peace Congress there by Secretary Hay, as the representative of the President. It was equivalent in significance to the welcome of a Peace Congress in London by the British Prime Minister. The words uttered by Mr. Hay were carefully read by all the diplomatists in Europe. His words expressed the predominant feeling of the great people behind him, and from a man in his position seemed to show that we were at the dawning of a better day. The Bishop says that what gave him most encouragement in America was the strong sentiment for peace, wherever he went, in the heart of the people. The American democracy

he ventures to look upon as the greatest peace society in the world. It has the happiness of being free from the influence of the Old World militarism; it is growing more and more conscious of its power, and is becoming more and more conscious of its mission as the greatest influence for International peace and good will. Emperors and aristocracies, the privileged classes and ambitious Ministers might cling to the methods of warfare, and many of them would continue to breathe its spirit, but there is a new hope everywhere in the rising power of free peoples. It only remains for the masses to be truly educated and fully informed as to the real consequences of warfare, particularly upon the life of the people. There is especially the duty of training the young in right opinions — to bring them up in the home and in the school with right opinions about peace and war. He sometimes feels, he says, that it is nothing short of a calamity to a large number of Englishmen that they know so little of the great utterances of Channing on peace and war, and the speech of Sumner on "The True Grandeur of Nations." Finally, he ventures to say that the clergy have done far too little in the cause of peace. He sometimes thinks that they are too much inclined to forget their prophetic office, and that it would be a good thing if they could study the lives and spirit of Isaiah and Micah, because such study would inspire them to impress more strongly upon the people the great truths of peace and good will among men.

We are grateful to the noble English Bishop for his good opinion of America and his high hopes of our service in the peace cause, which we trust may be realized. The Baron d'Estournelles, who was a member of The Hague Conference and is the head of the great Arbitration Group in the French Parliament, sends us an extract from a recent speech of his in the French Senate on the limitation of naval expenses. After giving the startling figures showing the increase of these expenses in recent years in France and other nations, he proceeds in words which I will ask the Secretary to read.

SECRETARY. The British Lord of the Admiralty, Mr. Goschen, declared in the House of Commons in 1899, before the opening of The Hague Conference, that the British government, as well as the Russian, desired to limit its naval expenses. "We are ready," he said, "to modify our program for new ships and to stop at the present proportion. I declare, in the name of the government of her Majesty, that if the other great naval powers are disposed to decrease their programs of construction, we are ready to go with them and lessen ours. We sincerely desire to see the Conference lighten the frightful burden which is weighing down the European governments." For two or three years now new symptoms of restlessness have been showing themselves among the taxpayers of all countries. In England notably, as in 1899, they are doubting the advantages which a country is to derive by ruining itself in developing its defences, and they are asking if the vendors of cannon and ironclads have not stimulated consumption a little too much. When the members of the French Interparliamentary Arbitration Group were received in London in July, 1903,

by their colleagues of the House of Lords and the House of Commons, the most influential members of the English Parliament said: "It is not enough to conclude a treaty of arbitration or even to settle all the difficulties of the past; our naval expenses must be limited." The situation, in spite of the desperate effort of those who are seeking to obscure it, has become perfectly clear. As to the principle, there is perfect agreement in France and England, but nobody wishes to take the first step. Why? I ask that we shall not remain deaf to the general and repeated manifestations. It was universal opinion that at last compelled the governments to take up the subject of arbitration treaties, which they had previously affected to disdain. Public opinion is not less unanimous in demanding a limitation of armaments. Let us no longer hesitate to obey it.

How is it that the English government, whose invariable tradition and historic strength it has been always to be the first to follow these great popular movements, — how is it that the English government allows itself to be robbed of the honor of instituting the most anxiously awaited reform in the world? Lord Selbourne, a pronounced advocate of limitation, explained thus his scruples: "To-day the problem has become complicated. It is no longer one between France and England alone, but between half a dozen powers." The progress of the new American marine is appealed to. This peril is made an excuse for increasing our own expenses. We are told that the United States, having entered on the pathway of remote conquests, are caught like ourselves in the wheels, and that they are obliged to ruin themselves in order to save at the same time their glory and their possessions. But it is forgotten to add that, the more real this danger is, the more probable it is that the United States will take due account of it and make themselves a guaranty of the

agreement in which France and England will take the initiative in the general interest. It is forgotten that if the United States have entered upon the pathway of militarism, the contagion of Europe has contributed toward forcing them into it, and that, consequently, our example might serve to restrain them.

As for Germany, the country of Goethe and of Kant is not going to isolate itself from civilization and declare itself definitively the champion of a militarism more and more ruinous. It will not, in the presence of history, of the people to-day, and of the German national conscience, take the fearful responsibility of leading the race to the very abysm of destruction. As for us Frenchmen, the most advisable policy, that worthiest also of our mission in the world, is not to take part in this responsibility, but to give the signal to halt. Why, then, wait? Why not to-day deliberately take the initiative which the force of events will finally compel?

CHAIRMAN. A member of our Conference has received a letter from the Baroness von Suttner of Austria, the author of the famous story, "Lay Down Your Arms!" and we are kindly permitted to hear a short passage from it.

SECRETARY. The Baroness von Suttner writes: "I wish to tell of one little episode on the sea in coming to America. It was the third day of our sailing. The weather was stormy. Suddenly we noticed a great agitation, people running up and down. What is the matter on the horizon? We saw a ship coming nearer, and heard the cry, 'A ship in distress!' Everybody rushed to see what was going to be done. The captain gave orders to change the course and to come nearer to that ship, for somebody had cried, 'She is on fire!' We

came near to her in great haste, and saw a three-master, the top of which was burning. Every one in the ship had a pitying heart. The officers and the crew ran to the boats to save the crew of the unhappy ship which was burning on the waves. But as we came nearer we saw that the vessel had already been deserted. Perhaps the crew had been saved. Well, every one was happy to see that no one was in danger. But it was a beautiful moment for all of us to see with what zeal everybody wanted to rescue the life of a fellow-creature.

"A few hours later Marconi brought to us a telegram from Japan and Russia, with the news that about twenty thousand slain were covering the ground; and the news was received with very great interest. A few hours before all of us trembled for one single life, perhaps, that had lingered on that unhappy ship; and now everybody hears with the greatest unconcern that twenty thousand are lying slain. Each took the part of one of the belligerents, — one was rejoiced to hear of the victory of that party, and the other was glad to hear of the defeat. I was perhaps the only one on board who saw the contradiction. I had the feeling that every life that can be saved ought to be saved, whether it is in the midst of twenty thousand or by itself, when it is on a burning continent, and not only on a burning ship. I thought that this great contradiction in human society must cease, because every contradiction finally ceases. That is the sense of science, and it is the sense of civilization. We must be in harmony with what we know and what we feel. When this harmony is established, I am sure that we shall also hurry to the rescue of a poor, burning continent, and that we shall not suffer the lives of our fellow-creatures to be destroyed."

CHAIRMAN. We have great pleasure in having with us to-day a gentleman who has given much time to the

consideration of international matters; and we shall be grateful for what he may contribute to our discussion. I will call upon Hon. Richard Carrington. (*Third pupil on platform rises and speaks as follows:*)

Mr. Chairman, and friends of the peace movement: There is just one point which I wish to call to your attention to-day, and that is a very common and stupid argument. A man said to me yesterday: "Your theory is a very good one, and it will work when you get the millennium and the lion and the lamb lie down together; but human nature is human nature, and so long as you need police to protect your cities and don't dare to go to bed without locking your doors, you are going to need a national police, which is a navy, to protect your country." I hear a great many people say practically the same thing. They fail to see that the business of soldiers and the business of policemen are totally different. A policeman uses just the least force possible to get a man arrested and carried before a judge and jury. He has no right to punish the man, or wreak his vengeance on him. If the man tries to escape, he may shoot at him, but he tries to hit him in his leg, and not in his head or heart; he simply wants to stop him. When he gets him to court, the policeman's part of the work is done. Then a disinterested judge and jury try the prisoner. He has a lawyer to defend him, and witnesses give evidence. He is judged according to laws made by another set of disinterested men called "legislators." Every effort is made to get justice done; and the policeman's only use of force

is to get his man before a court of justice. The function of militia is much like that of the police. When a mob approaches a jail and wants to batter down its door and lynch some prisoner instead of letting him be tried according to law, it is the business of the militia, when ordered out, to see that the law is maintained. They read the riot act and tell the mob to disperse. They don't want to kill them, if only they will go away; but, if they won't go, the soldiers fire. If we had had more backbone in our militia, we should have had fewer lynchings to disgrace the country.

But now consider what it is the duty of soldiers to do when they confront a foreign enemy in battle. Are they considering law or justice? Not at all. Half the time the poor fellows hardly know what they are fighting about. They simply obey orders to kill and destroy to the utmost of their ability. They throw shells into towns where there are women and children. They plant mines to blow up ships unawares. They act as spies. A battle is far less fair than a duel. When Aaron Burr killed Alexander Hamilton in a duel, both had the same weapons and neither took advantage of the other or used trickery. No, my friends, — nations at war are never aiming at impartial justice. They are simply trying to show which can do the most damage. Some day the world will have an international police to suppress pirates and keep order; but not until then can we ever talk of navies as being "police."

CHAIRMAN. I see Mr. Andrews here and hope we may have a word from him.

A. I thank Mr. Carrington for making such a clear explanation of a very common fallacy. I find another that is just as common. It is that war will never end until human nature is entirely changed. People say, "All this talk about peace and arbitration is beautiful, but universal peace will never come until men are all saints and all jealousy and suspicion are forever abolished." Now, my friends, that is all nonsense. The people in Genoa and Pisa and Florence, five or six hundred years ago, were living in walled cities; each city had its little army and fought with its neighbor cities. But to-day, when a great earthquake brings desolation to Southern Italy, all these towns feel sympathy and pity and send them help. They no longer have soldiers and defenses and petty wars between themselves. Why? Because they have all become saints and are so much better than men were in the time of Dante and Saint Francis? No, but because all these separated cities and provinces are now united and organized under one government.

Organization is the key to the world's peace. We can't even dream about a millennium until we have put the savagery of war as far behind us as the tortures of the Middle Ages are behind us now. Let us get to work and study how to organize the world. The United States should be the first nation to call for a united world. We, above all the others of the great powers, have learned how this is to be done. In 1787

our thirteen colonies were approaching great danger. We had pulled together during the Revolution, and then we began to pull apart. We had little petty tariffs which caused great trouble. Why, at one time the people of a Connecticut town were so enraged against New York that the merchants agreed they would not sell anything to that state for a year under penalty of two hundred and fifty dollars. You could n't carry a load of wood or a basket of eggs across the border without some irritating duties to be paid. At one time New York and Vermont and New Hampshire were almost ready to fight about a boundary line. New York had her own little navy. There were all kinds of money, which made business difficult; and it seemed as if the people of the different colonies outvied each other in saying harsh things. But what did Washington and Madison and Franklin do? They did not sit still and talk about how bad human nature was. They got together with some of the other leaders, and in four months invented a method of settling all the trouble. Our Constitution was one of the greatest works of human genius. It swept away tariffs and all sorts of troublesome things that kept us apart, and made it possible for forty-five states from the Atlantic to the Pacific to live to-day in peace and prosperity.

B. Mr. Chairman, does n't the last speaker forget that we once had a Civil War?

A. No, I don't forget that. But the Constitution made no provision for the case, — one half of the nation fighting the other half; that is a catastrophe

which nothing can anticipate. What it did do was to prevent our becoming a group of separate little countries with tariffs and little armies hindering our prosperity and causing endless quarrelling; it has made us a great united people. There is just as much fighting spirit born in the people of Pennsylvania and New York as there ever was; they won't reach the millennium for some time; but they never fight each other, because, first, there is very little that the Constitution has left them which could create trouble, and then, if differences should arise, they would be so quietly settled by the Supreme Court that half the citizens would never hear a word about it.

B. Mr. Chairman, I have always heard that all government is based on force. I suppose there is no denying that, is there?

CHAIRMAN. Who will answer that?

C. Government is based on several things, but chiefly on the agreement of the governed to support the government. No savage chief could hold his chieftainship a minute unless the greater part of his subjects agreed to let him rule. If their admiration or respect for him ceases, or they lose their fear of making a change, his power is gone. A government like that in Russia, which is sustained by using force upon an unwilling people, is the most unstable government in the world. As the world is now, there is some force used in every government, but this is not the basis of government. The strength of our government rests not upon the army or navy, but on the good will of the people.

If the majority of our people wanted to have a monarchy, no army could prevent it. We have a peaceful republic because the people want it and like it and trust it. Schools which train children to become good citizens are creating the only real force that can sustain our government. Let a generation of people grow up ignorant and lawless, and though we had the largest navy and army in the world our republic would end.

CHAIRMAN. I see several strangers here, and should be glad to hear from them, especially if there are those who do not agree with us.

D. I look at this whole question in a very different way. I think there is nothing like a military training to make men clean, strong, straight and obedient. I was born in Germany, and I don't see in this country that young men are given any such training as they get there. Every clumsy peasant gets a drill that braces him up and makes a different man of him. Our citizens there are cleaner and more orderly and better governed than yours. Our men are trained to be thorough and prompt and careful. I should like to see every boy trained to be a soldier.

E. Mr. Chairman, permit me to say a word in reply. What the gentleman from Germany says is true; it is not exaggerated. But there are other considerations. When all the young men of a country are forced by conscription to spend from one to three years in barracks, away from home, somebody must support them. They cannot produce; they are earn-

ing nothing; but they must be well clothed and fed and equipped. How is this done? By heavy taxation and toil, often the toil of women. Everywhere one sees the women doing men's work out in the fields, sometimes cleaning the city streets, and sometimes harnessed up with a dog drawing a load. Besides, it is worth knowing that in less than twenty-five years Germany's debt has increased fivefold and the cost of her navy nearly fourfold.

F. Mr. Chairman, I would like to suggest that if the time comes when men arbitrate their difficulties, instead of fighting, this valuable education of which our German friend speaks need not end, but could be made vastly better, for there would be millions of dollars more to spend on it. The time now spent in learning military tactics could be spent in learning farming or business or trades, and the regiments could be producing what they eat and wear, and not lay a heavy burden of expense upon the tax-payers. They could have all the physical training they have now, and learn to be "obedient" and "strong" and "straight," without forcing their mothers and sisters to do men's work.

G. Mr. Chairman, I want peace as much as anyone, but I have no respect for a nation that cares more for comfort and quiet and making money than it cares for justice and honor. I have n't heard a word said here about honor, and I think it is a mighty important word. I despise a man who is a peace-at-any-price man.

H. Mr. Chairman, I want to say a word about that. "Honor" is a word about which more blood has been spilt than about any other since the first duel was fought. Some years ago a French nobleman accused Italian soldiers of certain acts of cowardice in the war in Abyssinia. The country was incensed, and an Italian nobleman challenged the Frenchman to a duel — and succeeded in running his sword deeper into his antagonist's body than the Frenchman could run his sword into him. All Italy rejoiced. There were bonfires and jubilation, just as if the sword-thrust had changed one way or the other anything that had happened six months before! It was supposed that Italian honor was vindicated. Now that kind of "honor" which goes up or down the scale according as some duellist uses a weapon seems to me too silly to talk about. Yet that is precisely the sort of thing about which countless wars have been fought. I despise that kind of business and think it not only silly but dishonorable. We ought to have a higher sense of honor than prevails to-day. Is a man doing an honorable thing when in a naval academy he torments and half kills a fellow student whose only offense is that he has told the truth when he was asked by his superior officers to do so? I find among young men the world over a very peculiar sense of what they are pleased to call "honor." They think it a matter of honor to let a whole community suffer rather than to tell of the misdeeds of one comrade who is bringing disgrace upon them. It takes vastly more courage than they possess to oppose

their own mates. They would "rather be shot" than be cut by their acquaintances. A false sense of honor is at the bottom of it all.

I. Mr. Chairman, I want to add a word to what the last speaker has said. I think it is high time that we were less childish and had a more manly sense of honor. If a gentleman has made a mistake or done anyone an injustice, he says readily, "I beg your pardon." Why should n't a nation act like a gentleman? If it is in error, why is it a point of "honor" to fight about it? The only real dishonor that can come to any man or nation is to do wrong and be too proud to admit it. We ought to have a much higher sense of honor, and be vastly more sensitive about it than we are. I agree with the last speaker that honor is a most important thing, far more precious than life itself. I don't like to see so many women simply laugh and shrug their shoulders when some woman, whom they know, dishonorably smuggles home diamonds and lace when she comes through the custom house. I don't like to see so many men treating as their equals other men who are dishonorably cheating the city government by getting pay for work they never do, or are giving jobs to their relatives who can't do the work. Let our sensitiveness about honor begin in our own town, I say, and we shan't need to worry so much about defending our honor by fighting foreign nations. It seems to me that if there is any question that can be arbitrated and that can never be fairly settled by a fight, it is precisely this question of honor. I am not

a peace-at-any-price man. I don't apologize for having had a great-grandfather who fought at Bennington and a father who fought at Gettysburg. I am proud of the fact. But I believe we should never have had the Civil War, which is saddling a debt of about one hundred and eighty million dollars a year on us even to-day, if the abolitionists had begun early enough and persuaded our people to pay for the slaves and set them free, as the English freed their slaves in the West Indies in 1833. When I say I 'm not a peace-at-any-price man, I mean that " justice " and " honor " are larger words than " peace," and if fighting enabled us to get justice and maintain honor I would fight. But it is not the way; and therefore I think it is time for us to take steps to abolish war. George Washington's cause would have been quite as just if the French had not helped us and England had subdued our rebellion and hanged the leaders. We won, not so much because our cause was just as because England was at a disadvantage and some of her best people sympathized with us and the French helped us.

K. I should like to know what you think would happen if we should abolish our army and navy next week. What would all the thousands of men do who are building war vessels or running them, if they were suddenly thrown out of work? And how long do you suppose we should be unattacked?

L. Mr. Chairman, of course no one nation is going to abolish its navy until others agree to abolish theirs at the same time. It would come about in gradual

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stages, at first, all agreeing that they won't build new vessels for a certain time; and then, as the dangers of war diminish, war vessels will be re-modelled for commercial purposes. There is no more likelihood of the navy being abolished next week than of disease being abolished next week, and the physicians thrown out of work — which I hope they would be quite willing to be. But there is no reason why in the next five years we should n't make a good beginning, if our safe and favored country would lead in the movement. We can well afford to go further than other nations can as yet. As to throwing men out of work, if war should end, — why, if such a miracle should happen to-morrow, would n't it be cheaper for us to continue supporting soldiers for a few months, until they could get work, when they had no armaments, than it is to support them as we do now with their costly armaments?

M. I 'm glad that matter of expense has been raised. The reckless way in which the labor of men in making money is wasted by our misfit methods is something that staggers me. Most men seem to have no more comprehension of this serious question than so many babies in a nursery. Why, the cost of all Daniel Webster's education was n't any more than the cost of one shot from one of our big guns at target practice! Think how hard it is to raise one thousand dollars for any charity! Yet the average repairs of one torpedo-boat cost seventeen thousand dollars; and running a battleship costs as much every year as running a uni-

versity. Let me tell you something. In 1903 I wrote to the Secretary of the Navy and to the Secretaries of Harvard University and of Tuskegee Institute and Hampton Institute, where together about six thousand of our youths are trained every year. I found that the cost of one battleship was more than the valuation of all the land and of all the one hundred and fifty odd buildings — some of them very costly and beautiful buildings — of all these three great institutions combined! When you remember that a battleship is too old fashioned to use after it is about a dozen years old, you can begin to get a glimmering of an idea of what it costs to provide national defense on the one hand in the form of steel machines, or on the other hand in the form of well trained, able citizens.

N. We must remember that we have never had a battleship on our great lakes for ninety years, nor any fort upon our Canadian frontier, and this very fact has been our protection. If we had had them, Canada would have done the same, and we should be far less friendly than we are at present. Now, suppose just for argument we had no navy anywhere, and we should quarrel with some European power; we could insist upon arbitration, and no nation would be able to refuse it and keep the world's respect. But if worse came to worst, and a nation should go so far as to attack us, we should still have mines and forts for defense, and no naval forces could ever land and live. They would starve if we did not kill them. The most that could possibly be done would be to injure some of our coast

towns. In these days unfortified towns are never attacked. We could never be conquered. The thought is preposterous.

O. Mr. Chairman, that is all true enough about our own country. I am not afraid of any power wanting to attack us. But how could we protect our island possessions? There 's the rub. They would be gobbled up in a month if we did not have a navy to protect them.

P. Mr. Chairman, there is a perfectly practicable way of settling that. Few people seem to understand what a tremendous power neutralization is going to be in the future. Switzerland and Belgium have been neutralized. The great powers protect them and will not let them be invaded. Would n't it be worth while to try to get the nations at the next Hague Conference all to agree to neutralize these islands? That would enormously reduce the demand for a big navy. If we could take fifty million dollars a year from the cost of our navy, and spend it in educating our six million citizens who cannot read or write, that would make a national defence far more effective than are mines and explosives.

Q. I should like to ask if we are to think only of ourselves. I will risk our ever being invaded. But ought we not to be ready to fight battles for the helpless and oppressed? It seems to me the advocates of peace are always thinking of themselves. I should be ashamed of myself if I did n't feel like fighting every big rascal who was bullying a little fellow.

R. Mr. Chairman, I am sure we all respect the feeling of the last speaker, even if we don't think the best way to help a weak nation is to kill its oppressors. To go to war with Turkey and kill thousands of the innocent, and perhaps involve all Europe in war, is not the way to stop the Turks from massacring Armenians. If it were the only way, something might of course be said for it. No one can ever tell, when he lights a little fire near a powder magazine, how great a conflagration he may cause. The fact that his purposes were good may not save the whole city from destruction. What then can we do? We can work night and day for world organization, and first of all get three or four great powers to agree that Turkey shall be boycotted and ostracized if she does not behave in a civilized fashion. She would yield without a single shot. The power of passive resistance is mightier than dynamite. The cutting off of diplomatic relations and of commerce with any country, the lessening of opportunities to borrow money, would bring any nation that was oppressing weak people to repentance within a month. The stopping of railroad traffic and telegraph connections for a week forced the Russian government to make such concessions as no amount of force could wring from them. I don't claim to be a non-resistant; but if there ever were men who toiled, and toiled effectively, to help the oppressed it is precisely such non-resistants as George Fox and Tolstoi and William Lloyd Garrison. I don't think, moreover, that you could call them mean spirited or selfish people.

CHAIRMAN. The time has now come to adjourn. Let us rise and close this conference with singing Symonds's noble hymn.

These things shall be! a loftier race
  Than e'er the world hath known shall rise,
With flame of freedom in their souls
  And light of knowledge in their eyes.

They shall be gentle, brave, and strong
  To spill no drop of blood, but dare
All that may plant man's lordship firm
  On earth, and fire, and sea, and air.

Nation with nation, land with land,
  Unarmed shall live as comrades free;
In every heart and brain shall throb
  The pulse of one fraternity.

New arts shall bloom, of loftier mould,
  And mightier music thrill the skies;
And every life shall be a song,
  When all the earth is paradise.

There shall be no more sin nor shame,
  And wrath and wrong shall fettered lie;
For man shall be at one with God
  In bonds of firm necessity.

Duke Street. *J. Addington Symonds.*

READINGS AND RECITATIONS

The men in Sicily who prepare to fight always fight. It is only when men cease to carry dangerous weapons that they are able to preserve the peace. Napoleon III would not reduce his army, — he prepared for war, and war came. Japan prepared for war, so did China, — they fought. Russia has been adding to her battleships, so has Japan, — they are using them. A nation cannot fill its belt with bowie knives and revolvers without wanting to see what they will do. When we get our navy up to the desired size we will use it. Some one will insult us, step on our toes in some of the markets in the world, the barbaric press will shriek, the blood will boil, — and there will be war. Before we had a navy we never knew the sense of fear. We walked unarmed among the nations of the earth, and people of all lands were our friends. Now that we have battleships we are in a constant state of alarm. We are suspected, feared and, in many quarters, hated. We have whetted our swords in the ears of the nations and have said to our neighbors, "If you want a scrap, come on." And this is the nation of which the world expected better things, the Republic which influenced and led the nations without a navy for a hundred years, which defended the Monroe Doctrine against France and against the British Empire, not by might nor by power, but by the potent spirit of a great people who dared to do justly and to love mercy. To us as a

nation was granted the inestimable privilege of doing a beautiful and original thing, of walking among the nations as their helper and friend, trusting them and being trusted by them in return, never suggesting by bristling guns and deadly projectiles that we were their enemy or that they were ours. God gave us a continent washed by two broad oceans, that here unmolested we might work out in peace the problems of liberty and love. Europe is a mass of prejudices, enmities and age-long hatreds. Men must watch one another, swords in hand. But to us was given a home far away from the rivalries that embittered and the hatreds which destroyed, that we might succeed where all who went before us had failed. But someone says that America cannot disarm until all other nations do. Our reply is: "Can she not make a beginning? Can she not lead the way?" — *Rev. Charles E. Jefferson.*

"A Splendid Charge"

There will be the full complement of backs broken in two, of arms twisted wholly off, of men impaled upon their own bayonets, of legs smashed up like bits of firewood, of heads sliced open like apples, of other heads crunched into soft jelly by the iron hoofs of horses, of faces trampled out of all likeness to anything human. This is what skulks behind "a splendid charge." This is what follows, as a matter of course, when our fellows rode at them in style and cut them up famously! — *Charles Dickens.*

War plainly set forth

What, speaking in quite unofficial language, is the net-purport and upshot of war? To my own knowledge, for example, there dwell and toil, in the British village of Dumdrudge, usually some five hundred souls. From these, by certain "natural enemies" of the French, there are successively selected, during the French War, say thirty able-bodied men: Dumdrudge, at her own expense, has suckled and nursed them; she has, not without difficulty and sorrow, fed them up to manhood, and even trained them to crafts, so that one can weave, another build, another hammer, and the weakest can stand under thirty stone avoirdupois. Nevertheless, amid much weeping and swearing, they are selected; all dressed in red; and shipped away, at the public charges, some two thousand miles, or, say, only to the South of Spain; and fed there till wanted. And now, to that same spot, in the South of Spain, are thirty similar French artisans, from a French Dumdrudge, in like manner wending; till at length, after infinite effort, the two parties come into actual juxtaposition, and Thirty stands fronting Thirty, each with a gun in his hand. Straightway the word "Fire" is given, and they blow the souls out of one another; and in place of sixty brisk, useful craftsmen, the world has sixty dead carcases, which it must bury, and anew shed tears for. Had these men any quarrel? Busy as the Devil is, not the smallest! They lived far enough apart; were the entirest strangers; nay, in so wide

a Universe, there was even, unconsciously, by Commerce, some mutual helpfulness between them. How then? Simpleton! their Governors had fallen out, and instead of shooting one another, had the cunning to make these poor blockheads shoot. — *Thomas Carlyle.*

The Christ of the Andes

In 1900, Argentina and Chile were on the verge of war over territorial boundary disputes; but a revulsion of feeling, originating in the noble protest of an eloquent bishop in Argentina, led to an agreement to arbitrate their difficulties. Since the arbitration, which satisfied both countries, both have begun disarmament. Chile has turned an arsenal into a trade school, is teaching science more than military tactics to her cadets, and has already spent on good roads ten million dollars gained by reducing naval expenses. In March, 1904, upon a mountain pass on the lofty Andes boundary line, there was erected a colossal bronze statue of Christ, as a memorial of the compact of perpetual peace between these nations, and as a better guardian of the border than a cordon of fortresses.

When earth as on some evil dreams,
  Looks back upon her wars,
And the white light of Christ out-streams,
  From the red disk of Mars,

His fame who led the stormy van
  Of battle well may cease,
But never that which crowns the man
  Whose victory is peace. — *Whittier.*

At the Arsenal at Springfield

This is the Arsenal. From floor to ceiling,
Like a huge organ, rise the burnished arms;
But from their silent pipes no anthem pealing
Startles the villages with strange alarms.

Ah! what a sound will rise, how wild and dreary,
When the death-angel touches those swift keys!
What loud lament and dismal Miserere
Will mingle with their awful symphonies!

I hear even now the infinite fierce chorus,
The cries of agony, the endless groan,
Which, through the ages that have gone before us,
In long reverberations reach our own.

On helm and harness rings the Saxon hammer,
Through Cimbric forest roars the Norseman's song,
And loud, amid the universal clamor,
O'er distant deserts sounds the Tartar gong.

I hear the Florentine, who from his palace
Wheels out his battle-bell with dreadful din,
And Aztec priests upon their teocallis
Beat the wild war-drums made of serpent's skin;

The tumult of each sacked and burning village;
The shout that every prayer for mercy drowns;
The soldiers' revels in the midst of pillage;
The wail of famine in beleaguered towns;

The bursting shell, the gateway wrenched asunder,
The rattling musketry, the clashing blade;
And ever and anon, in tones of thunder
The diapason of the cannonade.

Is it, O man, with such discordant noises,
With such accursed instruments as these,
Thou drownest Nature's sweet and kindly voices,
And jarrest the celestial harmonies?

Were half the power that fills the world with terror,
Were half the wealth bestowed on camps and courts,
Given to redeem the human mind from error,
There were no need of arsenals or forts:

The warrior's name would be a name abhorred!
And every nation, that should lift again
Its hand against a brother, on its forehead
Would wear forevermore the curse of Cain!

Down the dark future, through long generations,
The echoing sounds grow fainter and then cease;
And like a bell, with solemn, sweet vibrations,
I hear once more the voice of Christ say, "Peace!"

Peace! and no longer from its brazen portals
The blast of War's great organ shakes the skies!
But beautiful as songs of the immortals,
The holy melodies of love arise.

Longfellow.

The Fatherland

Where is the true man's fatherland?
Is it where he by chance is born?
Doth not the yearning spirit scorn
In such scant borders to be spanned?
Oh yes! his fatherland must be
As the blue heaven wide and free!

Is it alone where freedom is,
Where God is God and man is man?
Doth he not claim a broader span
For the soul's love of home than this?
Oh yes! his fatherland must be
As the blue heaven wide and free!

Where'er a human heart doth wear
Joy's myrtle-wreath or sorrow's gyves,
Where'er a human spirit strives
After a life more true and fair,
There is the true man's birthplace grand,
His is a world-wide fatherland!

Where'er a single slave doth pine,
Where'er one man may help another, —
Thank God for such a birthright, brother, —
That spot of earth is thine and mine!
There is the true man's birthplace grand,
His is a world-wide fatherland!

Lowell.

The Cherry Festival at Naumburg

(A ballad founded on fact.)

Hard by the walls of Naumburg town,
Four hundred years ago,
Procopius his soldiers led
To fight their Saxon foe.
The blue sky bent above the earth
In benediction mute;
The tranquil fields reposed content
In blossom, grain and fruit.

But vain the *benedicite*
Of tender, brooding sky;
And vainly peaceful, smiling fields
Gave eloquent reply.
Unsoothed, unmoved, in Nature's calm,
The Hussite army lay,
A deadly, threatening human storm,
With Naumburg in its way.

To swift destruction now seemed doomed
The dear old Saxon town;
Before Procopius the Great
The strongest walls went down.
But soon upon the soft, calm air,
Came sound of tramping feet;
The Hussites quickly flew to arms,
Their hated foe to meet.

Ready they stood to face the charge;
The great gate opened wide,
And out there poured, not armed men,
But, marching side by side,
The *little children* of the town,
Whose bright eyes met their gaze
With innocence and courage all
Unversed in war's dread ways.

The men threw all their weapons down
At sight so strange and fair;
They took the children in their arms,
They stroked their flaxen hair,
They kissed their cheeks and sweet red lips,
They told how back at home
They 'd left such little ones as these,
And then they bade them come

To cherry orchards close at hand,
And there they stripped the trees
Of branches rich with clustered fruit;
Their little arms with these
They filled, and with kind words of peace
They sent them back to town.
The soldiers then all marched away,
Nor thought of *war's* renown.

And now each year at cherry time,
In Naumburg you may see
The little children celebrate
This strange, sweet victory.
Once more the sound of tramping feet
Is heard as, side by side,
They march throughout the quaint old town,
In childhood's joyous pride.

Once more they bear within their arms
Green branches, thro' whose leaves
Ripe cherries gleam, that tell a tale
More strange than fancy weaves,
About a bloodless battle fought
Four centuries ago,
When *children* saved old Naumburg town
By conquering its foe.

Some Famous Workers for Peace

To be recited by eleven pupils

1. *Henry IV of France,* in the sixteenth century, formed his "Great Design" for the federation of Europe.

2. *Hugo Grotius.* His "Rights of War and Peace," published in 1624, has, says Andrew D. White, of all

works not claiming to be inspired, proved the greatest blessing to humanity.

3. *George Fox* in 1624 founded the Society of Friends, and, by his earnestness and moral power, compelled the whole English speaking world to consider the early Christian doctrine of non-resistance.

4. *William Penn* in 1693 published his remarkable "Plan for the Permanent Peace of Europe."

5. *Immanuel Kant,* the great German philosopher of the eighteenth century, in his essay on "Eternal Peace," showed that war would not cease until the world was organized, and that it could not be safely federated until the nations had representative government.

6. *William Ellery Channing,* the able and most strenuous supporter of peace that the American pulpit has produced.

7. *Charles Sumner.* In his famous address on "The True Grandeur of Nations" and other great addresses, he worked as earnestly against war as during his whole life he worked against slavery.

8. *Elihu Burritt.* He secured cheap ocean postage. Half a century before the Czar's rescript, he proposed a World Court. This idea was popularly known in Europe as "The American Plan."

9. *Richard Cobden,* the great worker for free trade in England and the most influential of all Englishmen in the peace cause.

10. *Jean de Bloch.* A Pole, an economist, rich financier and Imperial Councillor of the Russian Em-

pire. He wrote an exhaustive work on "The Future of War," showing that to-day war between equal powers if fought to a finish means ruin for both and victory for neither.

11. *Andrew Carnegie.* He has added prestige to The Hague Court by giving one million five hundred thousand dollars to erect a noble building for it and to provide in connection an international library. He has given five million dollars to provide pensions and rewards for Heroes of Peace.

WHAT SOLDIERS AND STATESMEN SAY

The more I study the world, the more am I convinced of the inability of force to create anything durable. — *Napoleon at St. Helena.*

War will eliminate itself. By the next centennial, arbitration will rule the world. — *General Sheridan,* in 1876.

If the press of the world would adopt and persist in the high resolve that war should be no more, the clangor of arms would cease. — *John Hay.*

I confess without shame that I am tired and sick of the war. Its glory is all moonshine. Even success the most brilliant is over dead and mangled bodies, the anguish and lamentation of distant families appealing to me for missing sons, husbands and fathers. It is only those who have not heard a shot nor heard the shrieks and groans of the wounded and lacerated

that cry aloud for more blood, more vengeance, more desolation. — *General Sherman.*

All wars are follies, very expensive and very mischievous ones. In my opinion, there never was a good war, or a bad peace. When will mankind be convinced and agree to settle their difficulties by arbitration? — *Franklin,* in 1783.

I recoil with horror at the ferociousness of man. Will nations never devise a more rational umpire of differences than force? Are there no means of coercing injustice more gratifying to our nature than a waste of the blood of thousands, and of the labor of millions of our fellow creatures? — *Jefferson.*

My first wish is to see the whole world at peace, and the inhabitants of it as one band of brothers, striving which should contribute most to the happiness of mankind. — *Washington.*

The way to preserve peace is to be prepared for war, is an old heathen saying. Now, look at it. The Russian Government evidently thought they were well prepared for war; and, on the other hand, we all know how the Japanese had for years been preparing for war. It is one of the greatest griefs, I think, to see that that young nation, in coming up to Western ideas, has learnt from Christian nations, first and foremost, the art of war. They were both prepared for war; and so they go to war. It was the same thing in South Africa. We complained that the Boers

were preparing for war. They said, on the other hand, that, while negotiations were going on, the English Government was calling out its Reserves, was actually preparing for war. So they sent their ultimatum. Preparing for war makes war. It was so in regard to the Franco-German war. We know that Bismarck had been preparing for war for many years; he was expecting and wanting to have that war. And we know that the Emperor Napoleon asked, when there came this very difficult crisis, "Are we prepared for war?" "Yes," was the answer. "Then go to war." It is utterly false, this idea that to preserve peace we should be prepared for war. — *Sir Thomas Barclay.*

This Great Treaty is not simply an agreement between the Governors of Russia and the Governors of Japan as to their places on the shore of the Northern Pacific or their duties in the civilization of Eastern Asia. The Treaty takes its place as the first concrete illustration to the world of what the merchants of the world knew before. Ten or a dozen poets and dreamers knew it before. But the world at large did not know it; the world needed the visible emblem; the world needed a concrete expression; the world needed what the schools call an object lesson; — and it has that lesson now. It is the lesson which the prophet Isaiah taught. It is the lesson which St. Paul taught at Athens. It is the lesson of Hugo Grotius and of William Penn and of John Milton. Christopher Columbus had his share in teaching the lesson, Robert

Fulton had his share, Franklin and Henry and Edison and the other electrical men had their share. The Astors and the other great merchants had their share. The secret was known in this great army and that. It was guessed at by Cyrus Field when he laid his cable under the Atlantic. It was proclaimed in words, if words mean anything, when the great congress of nations met at the Hague six years ago. This world is one world: that is the lesson. But a stupid world was slow to take in the lesson. Men refuse to believe it now. All the same, that is true which the great Treaty of Portsmouth proclaims — that this world is one world. It is not an accidental conglomerate of a hundred jealous nations. It is one world, where man lives for man and men live for men. — *Edward Everett Hale.*

So, for the next century, and for many centuries to come, each member of the One Great Body must learn more and more how to help the other members of the one body. The eye is to find out what it can do for the foot; the foot has to find out what it can do for the hand, and the hand what it can do for the eye. We shall still speak of "foreign legislation" and "domestic legislation." But we shall speak more than ever of our duties to our brethren; and international law and international justice come into the forefront of the studies of our statesmen. Commerce led the way. Justice must be assured for commerce, and Peace will follow on Justice. That is to say, the

political study, the social study, the economic study of the next half century is setting to work to consider the new laws which belong to the social condition of the united world. — *Edward Everett Hale.*

The Hague treaty stands for the arbitration of all difficulties between nations without exception. It is not generally known how broad and important an instrument it is. I regard it as the triumph of the nineteenth century, that the nations could come together at its end and make a treaty like that. The tribunal has advanced more rapidly than did the Supreme Court of the United States in the first five years of its existence. . . . In the future, instead of the barbarous cry "To arms. To arms!" we shall hear another cry: "To The Hague. To The Hague!" — *Oscar S. Straus.*

When a young man, Lincoln, employed upon a trading boat, made a voyage of some weeks upon the Mississippi. He visited a slave market, where men, women, and children were not slaughtered, as formerly in war, but were separated and sold from the auction block. After standing for some time Lincoln turned and walked silently away. Lifting his clenched hand, his first words were: "If I ever get a chance I shall hit this accursed thing hard." . . . Let us resolve like Lincoln, and select man-slaying as our foe, as he did man-selling. As his time came, so to us our time will come, and, as it does, let us hit accursed war hard until we drive it from the civilized world, as he did slavery. — *Andrew Carnegie.*

Our victories and triumphs should be in other directions than in the military and naval domains. Nothing is more certain than that an individual or a nation with a chip on its shoulder is pretty apt to run amuck. Unarmed men hardly commit murder. Is the same not applicable to nations? . . . To-day no power wishes to attack us; and it is not because we are so formidable as a fighting entity. It is because we are a dominant power in peace. This republic of ours was not founded on so low a plane as a military or naval power, as are, for instance, the old countries of Europe, but as a peaceful republican and industrial power. As President Lincoln said: "Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, consecrated in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." That is the gospel for the coming year of 1906. May it and all succeeding years be years of our Lord in practice, as well as preaching. — *Andrew Carnegie.*

BOOKS RECOMMENDED

Bridgman's "World Organization," 50 cents, by post, 60 cents.
Bloch's "The Future of War," 50 cents, by post, 65 cents.
Sumner's Addresses on War, 50 cents, by post, 60 cents.
Channing's Discourses on War, 50 cents, by post, 60 cents.
Warner's "The Ethics of Force," 50 cents, by post, 55 cents.
Tolstoy's "Bethink Yourselves!", paper, 10 cents.
Carnegie's "A League of Peace," paper, 10 cents.

The above are published and sold by Messrs. Ginn and Company, 29 Beacon Street, Boston. The following may be procured from the American Peace Society, 31 Beacon Street, Boston, which also publishes for free circulation many valuable papers illustrating the peace and arbitration movement.

The Federation of the World, Benjamin F. Trueblood. 65 cents, postpaid.
Arbitration and The Hague Court, Hon. John W. Foster. $1.00.
The Blood of the Nation, David Starr Jordan. 40 cents.
Lay Down Your Arms! The Baroness von Suttner. 65 cents.
The American Citizen, Charles F. Dole. 80 cents.
The Principles of the Founders, Edwin D. Mead. 50 cents.
Organize the World! Edwin D. Mead. Paper, 10 cents.
A Primer of the Peace Movement, Lucia Ames Mead. 10 cents.
Report of the Boston Peace Congress, 1904. 10 cents.
Eternal Peace, Kant. 20 cents.

Text of The Hague Convention; the Introduction to Grotius's "Rights of War and Peace"; William Penn's "Plan for the Peace of Europe"; Franklin's Words on War and Peace; Elihu Burritt's "A Congress of Nations," — each 5 cents.

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EDITED BY

EDWIN D. MEAD

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The Moral Damage of War. [*In Press*]

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Messrs. GINN & COMPANY have also published for the International Union the following works in pamphlet form. *Price of each, postpaid, 10 cents*

BETHINK YOURSELVES! *By* LEO TOLSTOY

A LEAGUE OF PEACE: Rectorial Address before the University of St. Andrews. *By* ANDREW CARNEGIE

JEAN DE BLOCH'S "**The Future of War**" is the most important work in opposition to the war system which has appeared in recent times. Published two or three years before the Hague Conference, it made a profound impression upon the Czar of Russia, as upon governmental and financial circles in Europe altogether, and was undoubtedly one of the chief influences which led to the calling of the Hague Conference. Its great power is in its showing that the very perfection and destructiveness of modern armaments are rapidly tending to make the use of these impossible, and that the cost of modern warfare is becoming so appalling as to threaten the bankruptcy and political disruption of nations resorting to it. The whole work, packed with statistics, fills six volumes. The volume here published in the International Library is the concluding volume, in which the results are summarized and the arguments stated.

"The imperative problem with the world at this time," says Mr. Mead in his introduction to this edition of Bloch, "is how to get rid of war and substitute for it a rational way of settling international differences; and no other man in our time has studied this problem so scientifically or contributed so much to its solution as Jean de Bloch. Indeed, I think it is not too much to say that M. Bloch was the most thorough and important student of the question of war in all its details and upon its many sides who has ever lived, and that his great book upon 'The Future of War' will remain the chief armory from which the men of the twentieth century who are warring against war will continue to draw until their sure victory comes, and all national and international disputes are settled in the courts, as to-day personal disputes are settled. No book ever written in the cause of the peace and order of the world, save Hugo Grotius's great work alone, has rendered, or is likely to render, such influential practical service as Bloch's 'The Future of War.' Dante's 'De Monarchia,' the 'Great Design' of Henry IV, William Penn's 'Plan for the Peace of Europe,' Immanuel Kant's 'Eternal Peace,' the essays of LaCroix, Saint Pierre, Bellers and Bentham, Sumner's 'True Grandeur of Nations,'—these high appeals, and such as these, have pierced to the hearts of thinking men in the successive centuries, and their general and cumulative effect in elevating the tone and broadening the outlook of society upon the question of war and its evils has been immense. It would be hard, however, to lay the hand upon any distinct practical reform or progress wrought by any of them in its own day or days that followed. But Grotius's 'Rights of War and Peace' wrought a revolution, and it did it almost at once. With it, it may be said with a high degree of justice, international law was born

into the world full-grown; and from the time of its appearance war, horrible at its best, has been in its usages a very different thing from what it was before. Equally definite, distinct and practical has been the influence of Bloch's 'The Future of War;' and I believe that it will be seen at the end of this twentieth century that its influence has been equally powerful and far-reaching."

Charles Sumner's **"Addresses on War"** include his famous Fourth of July oration in 1845 on "The True Grandeur of Nations," his still more powerful address four years later on "The War System of Nations," and his address in 1870 on "The Duel between France and Germany." It is not too much to say that there are no other summary arraignments of the war system so thorough, so scholarly, and so powerful as these addresses of Sumner's.

Channing's **"Discourses on War"** may with equal warrant be pronounced the most impressive and convincing which have come from the American pulpit. They should have the widest circulation in our churches and in all religious circles. The Bishop of Hereford has recently said in England that he counted it a national calamity that his countrymen were not more familiar with these addresses by Channing and Sumner.

"The Ethics of Force," by H. E. Warner, is a searching study, in the light of evolution, of the forces and misconceptions which during the long past and to the present time have made peoples rivals, enemies and fighters of each other. His chapters upon Heroism and Patriotism are singularly illuminating, showing how false and mischievous are the popular conceptions of these qualities, and how important is the work of education which must be done to bring common national sentiment into accord with morality and humanity.

David L. Dodge of New York was the founder of the first Peace Society in America, or in the world. His two famous essays, published in the early part of the last century, and both included in the present volume, were the first important essays directed against the war system by an American. The interest of the more important of these essays, **"War Inconsistent with the Religion of Jesus Christ,"** is not, however, simply historical. The New York merchant was a Tolstoyan a century before Tolstoy; and his impeachments of the inhumanity, the folly and the crime of war have present potency and application.

"World Organization," by Raymond L. Bridgman, has been welcomed by many thoughtful men as the most constructive and prophetic of modern international books. It is praised in the highest terms by men like Andrew D. White. It shows in a striking manner how rapidly the organization of the nations in their mutual relations is actually proceeding, not only on the judicial side through the constitution of the Hague Tribunal, but legislatively and executively; and it analyzes and interprets with rare penetration the world conditions which are making inevitable some kind of international federation, with a World Parliament alongside the World Court. It is a book which should be studied with special care with reference to the problems with which the second Hague Conference will have to deal.

Rev. Walter Walsh is an eloquent clergyman of Dundee, Scotland, whose burning words to many American audiences at the time of his presence here to attend the Boston Peace Congress deeply impressed all who heard him. He is one of the most devoted warriors against war in Great Britain. No man has studied more searchingly the moral damage wrought by the Boer War and its attendant fever upon the British public. Drawing from that melancholy chapter in the life of his own nation his principal illustrations, he sets forth in startling detail, in his book on **"The Moral Damage of War,"** that damage as felt by the church, the school, the press, the politician, the soldier, and every class in the body politic. The references massed in his many pages of notes are if possible yet more moving than his powerful plea and argument.

"THE movement now stirring the world for the abolition of war never was so widespread or so vigorous, nor at any stage of the campaign have its triumphs been so numerous and important, as those of the last few years, beginning with the Hague Conference, which in itself marks an epoch. The foundation stone of the structure to come was then laid. The world at last moves steadily to the reign of peace through arbitration.... What is your duty and how can you best coöperate in this holy work and hasten the end of war? I advise you to adopt Washington's words as your own, 'My first wish is to see this plague of mankind, war, banished from the earth.' Leagues of Peace might be formed over the world with these words as their motto and basis of action. . . . It is certain that if the good people of all parties and creeds, sinking for the time other political questions whenever the issue of war arises, were to demand arbitration, no Government dare refuse. They have it in their power in every emergency to save

their country from war and ensure unbroken peace. . . . In this holy work of insisting upon arbitration, surely we may expect the men and women of all universities and other educational institutions, of all the churches and of all the professions, to unite and take a prominent part. I quoted the words of Washington at the beginning of this appeal. Let me close by quoting the words of Lincoln. When a young man, employed upon a trading boat, he made a voyage of some weeks' duration upon the Mississippi. He visited a slave market, where men, women and children were not slaughtered, as formerly in war, but were separated and sold from the auction block. His companion tells that after standing for some time Lincoln turned and walked silently away. Lifting his clenched hand, his first words were, 'If ever I get a chance, I shall hit this accursed thing hard.' Many years passed, during which he never failed to stand forth as the bitter foe of slavery and the champion of the slave. This was for him the paramount issue. He was true to his resolve throughout life; and in the course of events his time came at last. This poor, young, toiling boatman became President of the United States, and was privileged with a stroke of his pen to emancipate the slaves last remaining in the civilized world, four millions in number. He kept the faith, and gave the lesson for all of us in our day, who have still with us war in all its enormity, many of us more or less responsible for it, because we have not hitherto placed it above all other evils and concentrated our efforts sufficiently upon its extinction. Let us resolve like Lincoln, and select man-slaying as our foe, as he did man-selling. Let us, as he did, subordinate all other public questions to the one overshadowing question, and, as he did, stand forth upon all suitable occasions to champion the cause. Let us, like him, keep the faith, and as his time came, so to us our time will come, and, as it does, let us hit accursed war hard until we drive it from the civilized world."

ANDREW CARNEGIE, *in his Rectorial Address at the University of St. Andrews.*

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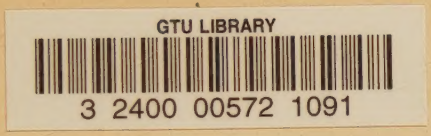

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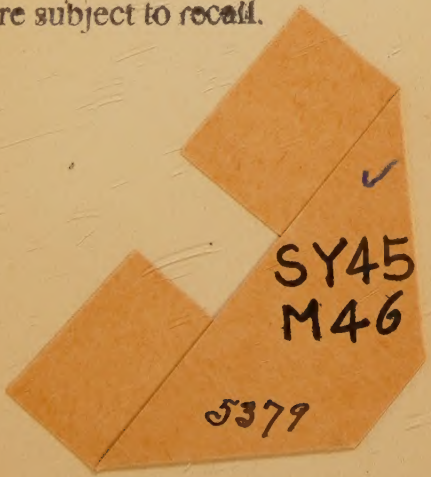

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